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NATO, Pact States Hold Mandate Talks Session
*LD0711101588 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT
7 Nov 88*

[Text] Vienna November 7 TASS—A regular meeting was held here today within the framework of consultations of representatives of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states for working out a mandate of the coming talks on the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Soviet Arms Negotiator Obukhov on Talks
*LD0511143488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1050 GMT 5 Nov 88*

[Interview with Ambassador Aleksey Aleksandrovich Obukhov, head of the USSR delegation at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons, by "our correspondent" Vladimir Dmitriyev in Geneva; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Dmitriyev] Aleksey Aleksandrovich, our listeners are undoubtedly interested in the current state of affairs at the negotiations, in how work is progressing.

[Obukhov] The meetings are highly intensive, from that point of view. Up to 15 meetings and conversations are held at various levels in the course of a week. A certain amount of headway has been made, although we would of course like matters to proceed more rapidly. As far as specific documents under discussion are concerned, the following is involved: above all, a draft joint treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive weapons. Related to it is a memorandum of understanding on underlying data and two protocols—on inspections and elimination. A protocol on the throw weight of ICBM's and SLBM's has also been put forward at the negotiations by the Soviet side. This document is also directly linked to the treaty on strategic offensive arms. Altogether, it comes to several hundred pages of closely typed legal text.

[Dmitriyev] Now, could you perhaps say briefly—of course, that is not an easy task—which main issues have been recorded in these documents, on which main issues you are working now?

[Obukhov] Regarding the most important areas of activity of the delegations now, it has to be said that currently a particularly large amount of attention is being devoted to gaining agreement on questions linked to monitoring [kontrol] mobile ICBM launchers. That is the first thing. Second, much attention is being devoted to the question of limitations on long-range air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers. Serious progress, you could say a breakthrough, was achieved on these two groups of questions during the summit in Moscow. The delegations are now engaged in work to bring together the formulated views on these questions which were put forward by the sides during the current round.

[Dmitriyev] What is the hardest part of this business, in your opinion, at the current stage of the negotiations?

[Obukhov] There are two problems which are, perhaps, the very hardest ones which we still have to solve. These consist, above all, of the problem of space arms; the other issue which is still unresolved is limitations on long-range sea-launched cruise missiles. I will talk in somewhat more detail about these two issues, first and foremost about space. This is a question of principle. It is necessary to ensure observance of and nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty. The sides reached agreement on this point at summit level in Washington last December. Without a solution to the space question, there will be no stability and there will not be conditions for the fulfillment of 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms. Unfortunately, with regard to an agreement on this point—I mean an agreement on observance of and nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty—there is no progress as yet. The U.S. side is putting forward so-called amendments for insertion into the Washington formula, which modify it in the spirit of the so-called broad interpretation of the ABM Treaty. But the ABM Treaty must be observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972. There was not talk at that time of any broad interpretation, which appeared in the United States much later.

The other issue which I mentioned is the question of long-range SLCM's, or, to put it in simple language, long-range sea-launched cruise missiles. Resolution of this issue is necessary for the stability of the future treaty. It is necessary to rule out the possibility of a circumvention of that document. The Soviet side has proposed specific quantitative limitations on long-range sea-launched cruise missiles. We have proposed a whole program of far-reaching measures for the verification [kontrol] of the corresponding limitations, from observation of the places of production of long-range sea-launched cruise missiles to inspection on ships. The U.S. side is, at present, evading constructive discussion of this problem. The U.S. rejection of verification [kontrol] of long-range SLCM's is, in my opinion, one of the main obstacles to a solution. We hope, all the same, that we can convince the U.S. side of the necessity of verification [kontrol] of these missiles, especially as mutual understanding in principle on this point was reached in Washington in December 1987.

There are other problems too, of course: for example, the question of the procedure for counting long-range air-launched cruise missiles. We are for precise counting of these arms too. As for the U.S. position, it permits nonconsideration of a large number of long-range air-launched cruise missiles and avoids strict verification [kontrol] in this area as well. That is putting a brake on matters.

[Dmitriyev] Our conversation is nearing its end, Aleksey Aleksandrovich. I would like, virtually in conclusion, to ask you this question. Reports have appeared in the press

here—in particular the LE MATIN newspaper, which is published in Lausanne, is doing this—to the effect that the U.S. delegation at the negotiations here in Geneva has put forward new proposals. The first proposal concerns verification [kontrol], regarding the treaty on strategic offensive arms, and the second proposal deals with research work within the SDI framework. Could you comment briefly on these U.S. proposals—if they have been made, as they say?

[Obukhov] I can merely assume that the LE MATIN newspaper was referring in its notes to U.S. proposals which were indeed submitted recently, which were set out at any event at the level of principles, regarding, in the first place, continuous observation of production facilities and, second, the U.S. delegation's thoughts on the matters of space weapons.

Let us take the first group of questions. I must say that the U.S. proposals are, of course, being studied by us; but we can already see now that the U.S. proposals concerning a system of continuous observation of production facilities are very, very selective. They apply virtually only to monitoring [kontrol] of places for the production of ICBM's and do not apply to observation of places for the production of other strategic offensive arms, such as sea-launched cruise missiles and so on.

[Dmitriyev] And now, a few words about future prospects.

[Obukhov] This is really a serious question. We see the main task at the negotiations as being to achieve the concrete embodiment in the documents which are being prepared of the decisions in principle which were adopted on nuclear and space weapons at the summits in Washington and Moscow, and also at the meetings at the level of ministers, including the latest such meetings in Washington. I am sure that there is a basis for an accord. Our policy is clear. We are for an accord as soon as possible on 50-percent reductions of strategic offensive arms, under conditions of the observance of the ABM Treaty.

[Dmitriyev] Thank you for this interview.

[Obukhov] Thank you for your attention.

Journalists Visit Krasnoyarsk Radar Station
LD0611180888 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT
6 Nov 88

[Text] Krasnoyarsk November 6 TASS—TASS special correspondents Valentin Ovcharov and Yuriy Khots report:

We had an occasion to be the first journalists to visit the Krasnoyarsk radar station and to see for ourselves what to some people became nearly the main argument in favour of continuing preparation for "Star Wars".

Work at the radar station has not been completed. Moreover, it was suspended altogether a year ago. The Soviet Union announced a moratorium for the doubters to be able to sort out things for themselves.

In September last year the Soviet side invited the U.S. congressmen and an expert who was accompanying them to visit the radar station to see that the station was not a violation of the ABM Treaty. The guests took thousands of photographs and shot kilometres of video films, saw everything that they wanted, and did not find anything which could pose a threat.

The year that has passed since the visit has not changed anything at the construction site. The Soviet Union suggested deciding the future of the station in a way which would both reassure the oversuspicious "experts" and would be of benefit to world science. It was suggested that an international cooperation centre for peaceful uses of outer space be set up on the basis of the radar station.

Boris Shishkin, representative of the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry at the station, related that in the process of exploration of the near-earth space and upon the increase in the number of continuously flying space objects, the scientists were assigned the task to work out a fundamentally new system for tracking a multitude of space objects. Thus how the story of the Krasnoyarsk radar began.

Among radar peculiarities which could give ground to suspect it of being designed for a different purpose, he mentioned the huge dimensions of the facility which is easy to discern from satellites.

"The station consists of two systems—transmitting and receiving ones", Shishkin said. "The dimensions of the transmitter's antenna sheet are 30 by 40 metres, and those of the receiver's antenna are also impressive—80 by 80 metres".

Shishkin described as sheer nonsense the assertions that the Krasnoyarsk radar can be used in the interests of anti-missile defence. "Firstly", he said, "the facility operates in the metre band of radio waves. This wave band, as is known to any specialist, is not suited for the accomplishment of an anti-missile defence mission. Secondly, the buildings of the station have been constructed as apartment houses, i.e. they have no special shielding and the necessary strength margin which are essential in the event of a nuclear attack. And finally, the radar station is powered by an ordinary power supply system which is most likely to be put out of operation in the very first minutes of a conflict. Besides, it is known that radars which operate for the purpose of anti-missile defence are located near strategically important facilities. There are no such facilities nearby".

The representative of the Ministry of the Radio Industry pointed out wide possibilities for using the facility for research purposes. In his view, for the facility to turn into an international centre, it is essential first of all to complete building work and to assemble the necessary equipment.

"Upon installing the equipment which has been brought here and which is still fit for operation after a long storage, it is essential to supplement it with new devices which would tackle problems which are of interest to the scientists of many countries. [no end quotation marks received]

'Disarmament and Security Yearbook' Published
LD0411133388 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—In the view of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's journal "Kommunist," the publication of the latest edition of the "Disarmament and Security" yearbook released in Russian and English by the NOVOSTI news agency publishers is a serious contribution to the comprehensive studies of the vital problems of disarmament and military-political security.

The yearbook gives particular consideration to the study of the developing Soviet-American dialogue on nuclear and space weapons. The readers are brought up to date on the contents of the final stage of U.S.-Soviet talks on the draft INF Treaty.

The study emphasizes that the constructive Soviet position which has decisively helped a successful conclusion of the INF talks, had shaped under the influence of rethinking the whole Soviet policy in the field of ensuring security following the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

The yearbook devotes considerable attention to discussing the role of the ABM Treaty in preventing an arms race in outer space. Much attention is given to discussing the challenge of real reduction of military confrontation levels and, in that context, to examining the balance of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

For the first time in the Soviet press, information is published on the composition, categories and combat readiness of the Warsaw Treaty divisions in relations to their actual manning level.

The reader will also learn about objective assessments of the military-political situation in Afghanistan and the efforts being made in Kabul within the framework of the national reconciliation policy.

The yearbook examines problems relating to the settlement of the Middle East conflict and of explosive situations in Asia, Central America and in Africa.

Gerasimov on Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev FRG Visit
LD0411160488 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The Soviet Union deems useful the holding of a meeting of Soviet and American experts in Geneva to discuss the matter of transforming the Krasnoyarsk radar station into an international centre for peaceful space research, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate Gennadiy Gerasimov stated at a briefing here today.

"The Soviet Union," he stressed, "is prepared to discuss with scientists of all the world possibilities of using it as an international space research centre. Simultaneously and parallel with this, we are ready to continue to discuss with the American side the ways and means of removing its expressed anxiety over the possibility of the Krasnoyarsk radar station being used for early warning or other ABM purposes".

Participation in the international centre of scientists from other countries, including the United States, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, would, it goes without saying, constitute an additional factor, enhancing confidence in that the radar station would not be used in violation of the ABM Treaty.

The Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov continued, has taken note of the Federal Chancellor Richard von Weizsacker Aachen statement of November 1. We appreciate the part that evaluates positively the changes going on in the USSR, their impact on the development of relations with the West, on the improvement of the European climate. "It can be stated with satisfaction that this pronouncement contributes to the creation of a favourable atmosphere in preparation for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the FRG, scheduled for the first half of 1989".

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman refuted the FINANCIAL TIMES report of November 2 that the Soviet Union was allegedly importing fissionable materials made of South African uranium. He stressed that the Soviet Union adhered scrupulously to the United Nations resolutions against nuclear cooperation with South Africa and does not receive South African and Namibian uranium for dressing.

Whenever Soviet foreign trading organizations conclude contracts on uranium concentrate processing and dressing, they always demand an origin certificate, specifying the materials producer. "Furthermore, responsibility for the authenticity of the required documents rests with our foreign partners. So far we have had no grounds to doubt this information", Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed.

Ryzhkov on Restructuring, International Issues
PM0411165188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Nov 88 First Edition pp 1, 4

["Extracts" of interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by French journalists L.-P. and J.C. Servan-Schreiber and J. Boissonnat: "Conversation With Publishers. N.I. Ryzhkov Replies to Questions by Leaders of the 'Expansion' Publishing Group (France)"; date, place not given]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received French journalists L.-P. and J.-C. Servan-Schreiber and J. Boissonnat and answered their questions about different aspects of restructuring, the Soviet Union's socioeconomic development, and the international situation. We offer our readers extracts from the conversation which took place.

[Journalists] What, in your opinion, are the results of restructuring today: What structural changes has it introduced, and how has it changed people's behavior and mutual relations? What are the main barriers in its path?

[Ryzhkov] Your question echoes a question put recently to M.S. Gorbachev by DER SPIEGEL magazine. It is possible that L'EXPANSION readers are already familiar with his reply. Nonetheless, I would like to say a few words on this subject, which is of key importance for understanding the situation which has taken shape in our country.

It is a completely new situation, and a highly complex one.

Now, only 3 and ½ years after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, we are living in fundamentally different social conditions—conditions of glasnost and intensive development of democracy, conditions of the emergence of new forms of economic and social relations between people, conditions where unprecedented opportunities for self-expression, self-development, and self-assertion are opening up before labor collectives and individuals. It is possible to say that the country now thinks and, most importantly, is beginning to act in a manner which is fundamentally different from that which prevailed for many decades.

Allow me to put this general picture of the present situation into slightly more concrete terms.

First of all, I would like to mention the all-around democratization of social life and the sharply increased political activeness of the masses. The decisive precondition of this process has been the rapid development of glasnost in our country. Until recently we could not even have dreamed, as they say, that our newspapers, journals, books, television and radio, theater stages, and movie screens would be pouring out such a lot of information about ourselves, about our history, and

about the world in general. Society has received a colossal impetus to get to know itself, make an objective assessment of the path it has covered and of its present state, and embark on a quest for the optimum avenues for its future development.

Democratization manifests itself not only in the expansion of glasnost, of course. Crucial changes are taking place in the entire system of the management of society. A considerable number of the functions which have historically belonged to the party organs are being returned to the soviets of people's deputies and state government organs. The nature of the soviets' work is also changing sharply—the soviets are acquiring not only wider political but also considerable economic opportunities for effective government on their territory. The mechanism of genuine people's power, thanks to which every person and collective will really be able to influence the composition of elective organs and their actual work is being strengthened and developed. Now these changes are also acquiring a firm legal basis. Draft laws "On Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution" and "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" have only just been published. After the nationwide discussion which has begun, and taking its outcome into account, they will be passed and become the norms of society's life.

The current and planned fundamental changes in political structures are backed up by profound changes in economic ties and relationships, that is, in ownership. I must say with the utmost emphasis: By nature it has always been and remains socialist, social, and nationwide. However—and this is no secret—the bureaucratic command style of national economic management led to an ever bigger gulf forming between the form of ownership and people. This spawned a multitude of very grave economic, social, and moral problems. These are being resolved today by means of the development of such forms of realizing ownership as collective and family contracts, leasing, and certain types of cooperative activity in the course of which means of production which belong to the state are used.... And as practical experience has shown, the new forms are not just transforming people's attitude toward property and labor, they are also transforming them in many respects as citizens and individuals. We also believe that one of the main advantages of the new forms is that they place people in a relationship of equitable partnership in the achievement of common aims.

These and other cardinal changes in the economic relations between the state, the labor collective, and the individual have already borne the first tangible results. It is possible to claim that a trend toward overcoming stagnation has quite clearly emerged. The course toward the intensification of social production on which we have embarked means above all the intensification of the qualitative factors of economic development. So, at the present time the entire increase in national income is to

be ensured through higher labor productivity. The rate of updating output in such a leading national economic sector as machine building has more than trebled.

A process of structural economic restructuring has begun. It is particularly important that there is a perceptible trend toward a change in the ratio between the production of means of production and of consumer goods in favor of the latter. For instance, in 1986 the increase in means of production outstripped the increase in consumer goods by a factor of 1.4, yet this year, on the contrary, this relationship is 1.5 in favor of consumer goods.

During the years of restructuring there has been a radical change in the very thrust of the Soviet economy. Its supreme aim has in fact become to satisfy man's interests and requirements. Large-scale investment operations are being carried out for this: An ever-increasing proportion of capital investments is being channeled toward the construction of housing and public health, education, and cultural facilities. Last year, for instance, almost 2.3 million apartments were constructed in the country, which is an increase of 14 percent on 1985. In the last 3 years as a whole housing conditions will have improved for 34 million people.

All this only represents a few traits that characterize the newness of the situation in our country. At the same time I will repeat that the situation is very difficult on the whole. To be frank, this takes the form of a tough battle every day, every hour, between outmoded and in many respects dogmatic ideas and new, modern ideas of what Soviet society should be like, how it should be governed, and how people can and will live in it.

This process is perhaps particularly painful and therefore clear in the economic sphere, where the economic mechanism that has become ingrained over the decades is being smashed. Quite often the old not only coexists with the new but also palpably slows down forward movement. This is an inevitable transitional period. Our task is to render it shorter and less painful.

Today the overwhelming majority of Soviet people are in favor of restructuring, they pin their hopes for the future on it, and they are actively working for it.

[Journalists] We get the impression that the population in the USSR is greatly worried about the supply of food and other commodities and that the situation is now less satisfactory than prior to the implementation of economic reform.

[Ryzhkov] I must say that this is indeed one of the fundamental questions in the contemporary development of our economy. When the concept of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development was put forward 3 and ½ years ago, the problem in question was ranked as one of very great priority since it is directly

associated with the people's living standards. Furthermore, in the middle of this 5-year plan we performed a major economic maneuver, channeling a large proportion of the resources earmarked for developing means of production to strengthening the material base of the social sphere and increasing food production.

Nevertheless the situation in the food market is still indeed quite complex in our country. However, this is not caused so much by any deterioration in the sphere of food production as by more rapid growth of the population's income in comparison with the growth rates for agricultural output and, incidentally, industrial output.

I remember that 20 years ago the question of what to do with butter was examined in earnest. At that time we had animal fat, vegetable oil, and meat everywhere. Yet we ate an average of 40 kg per person then, whereas now we eat more than 64 kg. Overall each person in our country consumes 3,100 calories per day. This is more than in France—more than is necessary in terms of physiological norms.

Why did we not experience a food shortage before, yet we are experiencing one now? The point is that income was quite different at that time. For instance, whereas in 1970 34 percent of the population had an average per capita monthly income of R50-75 and only 5 percent had an income in excess of R150, today the reverse is true: Only 11 percent of the population belong to the first group, while 33 percent belong to the latter. If we look at the dynamics of food consumption, it is increasing all the time. This increase applies above all to staple food products—meat, milk, fats, fruit, vegetables—while, on the contrary, bread and potato consumption is decreasing. Nonetheless, our main problem now is still to saturate the market with high-quality food products. The whole point is, I repeat, that the increase in such products should not lag behind the increase in the population's monetary income.

Currently more than half of the national economy is working on new economic principles. As of next year the entire economy will switch to these conditions. The new forms of economic management are leading to an enhancement of people's interest in work and in the growth of wages. In the first 9 months of this year the population's income has increased by 9 percent and sales of goods by 6 percent. The arithmetic is simple: 9 minus 6 equals 3 percent. This creates the pressure of money weighing on the market.

We do not, of course, see the way out in reducing income levels, but rather in ensuring fuller provision of appropriate amounts of goods, above all foodstuffs. An enormous amount of work is currently being done in the country to accelerate the resolution of the food problem. This includes the creation of new and state-of-the-art equipment for the production, transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural output; output of a considerable amount of such equipment has been entrusted

to the defense sectors of industry. It includes massive use of the latest domestic and foreign scientific achievements. It includes new forms of management (or, rather, self-management to an ever-increasing extent) in the agro-industrial complex. I think that millions of Soviet people will see the practical results of this work on their tables in the next few years.

[Journalists] How much have prices risen?

[Ryzhkov] Over the past 3 years centralized prices have been increased only on alcoholic drinks. Furthermore it is natural that prices are increasing in proportion to the increase in the consumer qualities of goods—that is entirely natural. But at the same time a, to put it bluntly, negative process is taking place: The economic reform is making it possible to earn a profit by increasing prices—often with no relation to output quality—and certain enterprises are actively exploiting this opportunity. By our calculations this unsanctioned price growth will amount to up to 2 percent this year.

What is our task under these conditions? First, we have developed a program for boosting production not only of foodstuffs, which I have already mentioned, but also of nonfood goods, and we have launched a big campaign to implement that. And second, to use the language of figures, we are striving to ensure that alongside the 9-percent increase in income there is at least a 9-percent increase in labor productivity. Labor productivity has increased by 5 percent over the first 9 months of the year. The diverging lines on the graph thus created are having a negative effect on the economy. And we are posing the task of implementing a policy in which wage growth accords with the provision of material goods.

[Journalists] Does disarmament policy in Europe consist in greater reductions in classical arms in the East than in the West, bearing in mind the current imbalances?

[Ryzhkov] Disarmament policy in Europe, we are convinced, should be aimed at radically reducing the two military-political alliances' military potentials and ultimately achieving on the continent a situation in which the forces and means left behind are those necessary for defense but insufficient for carrying out a surprise attack and waging offensive operations.

To this end we propose cutting the armed forces and conventional arms of the two alliances' states to approximately equal ceilings in the immediate future. In practice this will clearly mean, as you have said, initially cutting classical arms. At the same time, we believe that the need to cut nuclear weapons in Europe should not be forgotten. The interconnection between certain types of arms which could be used both as nuclear or conventional weapons should be borne in mind.

As for the quantitative parameters of the cuts, there is no problem here for us. We believe that each side should cut more of the arms in which it has an advantage, thus eradicating imbalances and asymmetries.

In order to reveal the real picture with regard to correlations of forces we are prepared to exchange relevant numerical data with the NATO countries. We also envisage the possibility of verifying the figures. So the question of equilibrium or disequilibrium in terms of certain types of arms will be revealed in the course of this process. There is no particular point now in imposing any evaluations on each other before things have gotten started. After all, ultimately the main thing is to completely eradicate the existing advantages in terms of armed forces and conventional arms on both sides, both on a European scale and in certain regions, and to bring about deep cuts in Warsaw Pact and NATO military potentials to bring them to a level of reasonable sufficiency.

[Journalists] In your opinion, would the future integration of Eastern Europe and the European Community be desirable?

[Ryzhkov] The Soviet Union, as is well known, came up with the idea of building a "common European home." Obviously, the foundations of this home cannot be conceived of without the broadest trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation among all European states from the Atlantic to the Urals. We are hoping that, with the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, positive trends in this direction will develop further.

Integration processes—albeit at different levels—are in progress in both the EEC and CEMA, and it is important at this stage to ensure a linkup between the two economic associations and the countries belonging to them. After all, economic, ecological, energy, transport, and other European problems are becoming increasingly continental in nature, and they can only be effectively resolved through joint efforts. This means that there is reason to talk of the existence of vital preconditions for the formation of an integration process which is all-European in nature. In this process, integration will be mutual and not one-sided as you suggested in your question. It would, therefore, be realistic to proceed from the need for every possible collaboration and mutual influence, which possibly at some stage will lead to the formation of closer economic structures.

I would like to emphasize that the most important thing now is not to isolate ourselves or put obstacles in the way of building varied economic ties between European states. It is highly important to prevent any increase in the present demarcation and to abandon the policy of discrimination and prohibitions in East-West trade. This policy is increasingly at variance with the objective processes of deepening world economic ties and positive changes in the international situation. In order to ensure

that the whole complex of these mutual ties acquires the properties of a highly developed organism, it is essential to concern ourselves with the compatibility of its economic tissues. Then that organism will function normally, harmoniously, and in the interests of all its component parts.

In our opinion, our "common European home" is capable of attaining a far higher level of economic, scientific and technical, and information collaboration than is now the case—this collaboration would also be open to the rest of the world. This integrational collaboration would be a farsighted response by Europe to the global challenges of the present day.

[Journalists] Is there any difference between the Soviet concept of human rights and that accepted by Western democracies?

[Ryzhkov] If we are to have a meaningful discussion, I would like to clarify exactly what concept is accepted by Western democracies. If it is the concept enshrined in the UN Charter, international pacts on human rights, and other fundamental documents, then the Soviet Union has assumed the same obligations as the majority of Western countries. This is a broad complex of specifically formulated human rights. There are differences in emphasis, of course. In the West the emphasis is placed on civil and political rights whose exercise causes Western states no material cost. But, on the other hand, economic, social, and cultural rights are often regarded merely as wishes and guidelines. The right to work, for example, which is proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and enshrined in the International Pact. We, however, are convinced of the need to observe all human rights. From the experience of Western countries, we know that civil and political rights are largely devoid of meaning for those whose economic and social rights are not guaranteed. And from our own experience we know that the social and economic life of society cannot help but suffer when people's civil and political sphere of activity is artificially narrowed.

I must add that our concept includes a whole layer of human rights that does not exist in the West. It is connected with the rights of labor collectives, such as the right to elect the directors of enterprises, which is becoming increasingly developed.

[Journalists] What could improve relations between the USSR and France?

[Ryzhkov] I think it would be more correct to speak of raising Soviet-French relations to a qualitatively new level. In our view, very favorable preconditions for this have now been created. The USSR foreign minister's recent visit to France made it possible to resume the normal rhythm of the Soviet-French political dialogue. An accord was reached on an exchange of top-level visits. President F. Mitterrand will visit the USSR at the end of November 1988, while M.S. Gorbachev will pay a visit

to France in the first half of 1989. Both Moscow and Paris are confident that the upcoming meetings between our two countries' leaders will give strong boosts to Soviet-French cooperation and will help to expand spheres of constructive collaboration between the Soviet Union and France in European and world affairs.

There is virtually no key problem that can be resolved without recourse to our countries' positive contribution. To name the top-priority ones among them, there is the deepening of the all-European process and, above all, the commencement and vigorous pursuit of talks on reducing troops and conventional arms in Europe, the promotion of the speediest conclusion of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms in compliance with the ABM Treaty, the completion of the drafting of a convention banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stocks, and the continuation of the search for settlements to regional conflicts.

There are no disagreements in Moscow and Paris as to the need to conclude the Vienna meeting successfully in the very near future. In the past our countries have carried out a good deal of work to develop the all-European process, which has proved its tenaciousness, including at difficult times when international tension has been exacerbated. If they do not now pool their efforts in the cause of building the "all-European home," it will hardly be possible to construct the roof of this home.

The activation of political relations will be all the more stable, the more successfully cooperation makes progress in other spheres, particularly the trade and economic sphere. In the past the USSR and France were pioneers not only in detente but also in assimilating new forms of business cooperation and implementing large-scale joint projects. That impetus has now largely been lost. The activeness of French firms has somehow wilted, and Soviet foreign trade organizations are not displaying proper initiative either.

We value France's achievements in the industrial, scientific, and technical spheres and in assimilating and creating new technology. We too have products and inventions which could be of interest to French partners. It must be our common concern to lay down large-scale groundwork which will ensure prospects for mutually advantageous cooperation on a long-term basis.

And, finally, the last but not the least significant point: Much also has to be done in the sphere of cultural ties. We must above all know more about each other's modern culture. This is very important for mutual understanding and, consequently, also for mutual trust.

Thus many possibilities exist for improving Soviet-French relations. And there is a mutual desire to travel this path. The time has come for concrete action.

UN Delegation Calls for 'Openness'

LD0311094188 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT
2 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 2 TASS—The Soviet delegation at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly called on the international community to use the favourable changes in the international political climate for broadening exchanges with objective information between countries and peoples and establishing openness in the world.

"Revealing the positions of governments and peoples, openness promotes peace and cooperation, and consolidates the idea of creating a nuclear-free and non-violent world, as well as contemporary, civilised international relations." Soviet representative Vadim Perfiliev said at the special political committee of the U.N. General Assembly today.

"We think that now it is exactly the time to get down to coordinating a wide range of practical steps towards developing a U.N.-sponsored international information programme to acquaint peoples with each others' life. UNESCO could assist in creating such a programme by using its own T.V. channels and computer network. We are ready to support the programme by Soviet technological means," Perfiliev said.

"For several decades countries have exerted great efforts to embellish themselves and blacken their opponents. The new political thinking, as we see it, should display itself in the field of information in assistance to normal and mutually respectful exchanges of views and creation of conditions enabling us to understand each other better, above all. After the long years of 'cold', 'psychological' and other wars, international television linkups, exchanges of newspaper workers and newspaper pages, as well as joint statements made in the press, radio and television by leading politicians and public figures of various countries are coming in like a gust of fresh wind."

"The new political thinking has so far been introduced at a higher rate in politics and diplomacy, rather than in the mass media. There is a real danger that the information sphere will be the last to abandon confrontation, which, in turn, is posing a threat of the revival of confrontational attitudes at the political level. The better half of the world learn about changes in politics and international relations exactly through the mass media. Sometimes, we witness a sharp and painful reaction of a country to news appearing about it abroad. Very often it is followed by categorical public accusations against the other side in the intentional spread of misinformation, dishonesty, etc. The reacting sides would not mind resorting to the 'cold war' phraseology. Probably, time has come to give up confrontational reflexes here as well and look for new ways of communication among information experts, different from megaphone ones."

"The Soviet Union is ready to give an all-round support to new approaches to information activities in general and also within the framework of a new information order," Vadim Perfiliev said in conclusion.

UN Committee Discusses Disarmament Resolutions
LD0711104488 Moscow TASS in English 1031 GMT
7 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 7 TASS—The First Committee (dealing with political and security matters including disarmament) of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly discussed draft resolutions on a whole range of disarmament issues. The drafts are being drawn up by delegations of many U.N. member-countries.

On the initiative of a large group of socialist, Western, non-aligned and neutral countries, the committee formulated a draft resolution suggesting that the disarmament conference should step up as a matter of priority negotiations to conclude a convention on a total and effective ban on developing, manufacturing and stocking up chemical weapons and applying all its types, as well as its elimination.

The delegations of Bangladesh, Indonesia, Ireland, Peru, Romania, Senegal, the Soviet Union and Sweden called the session's attention to the possibility of reaching international agreements to cut the military budgets without infringing on the right of all nations to security, self-defence and sovereignty. They submitted a draft containing a call to all countries, especially those possessing the largest military potentials, to increase their readiness for constructive cooperation to achieve agreements on freezing, reducing and limiting military spending. The human and material resources which would be liberated as a result of these steps could be switched over to meeting the needs of social and economic development.

A large group of delegations from non-aligned and socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, called the attention of the U.N. General Assembly to economic and social consequences of the arms race and their extremely pernicious effect on world peace and international security.

The delegations of Soviet Belorussia, Hungary, Venezuela, India, Poland and Sri Lanka expressed concern over the use of technological achievements for military purposes, which leads to an escalation of the level and further upgrading of armaments, affect negatively universal security and thrust back all disarmament efforts. They suggested that the United Nations think out all the possible ways to prevent the use of scientific and technological achievements which should serve to the benefit of all humanity, for military purposes.

The representatives of all the continents have drawn up a draft resolution on confidence-building measures, which may play a major role in achieving disarmament,

but cannot replace concrete disarmament measures. This document contains a call to all nations to consider ways of a more extensive use of measures to strengthen trust in international relations.

The need and importance to mobilize the world public opinion to end and reverse the global arms race in all its aspects are emphasized in a joint draft prepared by Angola, Soviet Belorussia, Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Laos, Mongolia, New Zealand, the Soviet Ukraine, Czechoslovakia and Japan.

The Soviet Ukraine and Czechoslovakia noted that the United Nations' role could be strengthened through honest implementation of the resolutions of its General Assembly by all countries in accordance with the commitments which they have undertaken under the U.N. Charter.

They suggest that all countries exert their efforts to make for consistent implementation of the General Assembly's resolutions on disarmament and, therefore, show their determination to work out mutually acceptable disarmament measures which can be effectively verified.

Media Officials Address CSCE Journalists
LD0211105388 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT
1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—A broad range of problems of the present—from the policy of glasnost in the USSR to the development of the Helsinki process, from the effort to discard the "enemy image" to cooperation among journalists—were discussed here at a meeting of journalists from the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The theme of the meeting is "Journalists in Europe—How We See Our Common Home and Each Other". The meeting is sponsored by the USSR Union of Journalists which is affiliated with the International Organization of Journalists, and the Union of Journalists of Great Britain and Northern Ireland which is affiliated with the International Federation of Journalists.

The participants in the meeting showed much interest in the law on the press which is being worked out in the USSR. It was discussed in all the three working sections of the meeting. President of the National Union of Journalists of Great Britain Barbara Gunnell said, for instance, that in her country the government takes advantage of the law on the press for interference in the activity of journalists. The government prohibits them from giving coverage to certain themes. And this legislation toughens with every year. In this connection, member of the Central Board of the FRG Union of Journalists Hans Klein and president of the Union of Austrian Journalists Eva Prager-Sitterbart expressed the view that in the Soviet Union, too, the law on the press will first of all be aimed at restricting the freedom of the press.

TASS Deputy Director General Anatoliy Krasikov said that the Soviet press is now waging the struggle for glasnost and for an opportunity to raise most acute questions. We regard freedom of information as a guarantee of the success of perestroika, he said. There are still adversaries of glasnost in Soviet society. There were cases when journalists were not admitted to some or other functions, and cases even of their unwarranted arrests. The law on the press which is being worked out is aimed precisely at protecting journalists and ensuring normal conditions of work for them while enhancing their responsibility, Anatoliy Krasikov said.

Editor-in-Chief of the Dutch newspaper NRC HANDELSBLAD, W. Woltz expressed rather a controversial thought when he said that journalists are not responsible for the impact their reports have on public opinion. Vice-President of the Netherlands Union of Journalists Wim Klimkenberg and First Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the journal "KOMMUNIST" Otto Latsis disagreed with him. They are of the opinion that some reports by journalists influenced public opinion in an even greater degree than actions of government. Therefore wittingly or unwittingly the journalists are responsible for their reports.

Editor-in-Chief of the West German journal STERN Claus Liedtke touched upon the question of the work of foreign journalists in the Soviet Union, specifically their access to information. In answer to him, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Yuriy Gremitskikh said that the number of foreign journalists accredited in the USSR rose from 350 to 470 over the past three or four years. This, undoubtedly, shows that the process of perestroika attracts more and more interest abroad. Foreign correspondents have been given a wider access to information, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. Just as their Soviet colleagues, they attend briefings, news conferences and other functions at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry several times a week. They are invited to weekly briefings at the USSR Ministry of the Interior where such subjects as organized crime, drug addiction and prostitution that were recently taboo come up for discussion.

Far from everything has been done, but considerable progress has still been made, Yuriy Gremitskikh said.

The participants in the meeting will attend tomorrow the final plenary meeting to sum up the results of the work in sections.

WJC's Bronfman Interviewed on USSR Visit
*LD0411230988 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT
4 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—"We have brought many of the problems we discussed closer to solution", a TASS correspondent was told by Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) who left the USSR today.

Bronfman noted that during the meeting he had with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze he expressed the WJC intention to promote East-West relations, to step up the search of ways to solve regional conflicts, above all in the Middle East.

It has been recently stated by a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman that the Soviet side had stressed the USSR's readiness to make its contribution to the peace process in the Middle East, to continue contacts with all the sides concerned, including Israel, so as to put the process of Middle East settlement on practical rails.

"Changes have occurred, as I was able to see, in the life of Soviet Jews. People have become more at ease and cultural life is much livelier. I spent one of my evenings at the Jewish musical theatre. The performance of its troupe, directed by Mikhail Gluks, pleased me very much. As a matter of fact, actors of this theatre have been on guest performances in the United States and Canada. It was particularly pleasing to see many young people in the hall", Edgar Bronfman said sharing his impressions on the visit.

He noted that during his conversations in Moscow he was given ample explanations concerning a whole range of questions, including travel of Jews outside the USSR.

As earlier reported, today there are five thousand registered persons wishing to leave for permanent residence abroad. As many as 66 thousand have received permission to go during the first nine months of this year, including 15,700 Jews.

United States & Canada

PRAVDA Cites Dukakis, Bush on Peace Hopes

PM0711132388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Candidates' Stance"]

[Text] London, 6 Nov—"I want to develop the progress that has already been made and advance by holding serious talks, which, I hope, will lead to considerable reductions in strategic arms." These will be the first words uttered by Michael Dukakis, Democratic presidential contender, on meeting the Soviet leadership if he heads the next U.S. Administration. The Democratic candidate made this statement in an interview with prominent British journalist David Frost shown today by ITV.

G. Bush deemed it necessary to point out his unity of views with R. Reagan on the main avenues of both domestic and foreign policy. "I would like to be remembered as a president who strengthened peace throughout the world," he stated.

'World Today' Reviews U.S. Presidential Campaign

OW0511212988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1200 GMT 4 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] The U.S. presidential campaign has entered its final stage. In 4 days America will go to the polls to vote either for Republican George Bush or for Democrat Michael Dukakis. According to the latest public opinion poll, Bush leads Dukakis 55 percent to 42 percent. Democrats face a real possibility of losing the presidential struggle for the third time in a row. This poll, as well as those preceding it, once more reflected the voters' dissatisfaction over the course of the campaign itself. Champions of both parties emphasize dissatisfaction over the colors and tactics of the preelection struggle and dissatisfaction over their parties' candidates. Eight out of 10 polled voters noted that the candidates attacked each other rather than debated more important national problems.

Notwithstanding predictions of an easy Bush victory, both candidates will speak at preelection meetings one after the other, holding the last battle for votes, including New York state residents' votes—these being the most important and prestigious. Bush constantly repeats that if the Democrats are victorious America will face a tax increase and a loss of international prestige. The vice president also insists that Dukakis is mainly governed by impractical [dalekiye ot zhizni] calculations and that he does not have enough common sense to hold the presidential post. Bush promises to be an active president and

carry out a sensible policy. I need not a mere victory—I need a mandate from the entire country, Bush declared in Chicago. [video shows candidates addressing voters]

What about Dukakis?—you see him now. [video shows Dukakis] He invariably stresses in all his speeches that Bush supports the rich, but he, Dukakis, supports the rest of Americans. Besides, he started openly calling himself a liberal, while indicating that he means a new liberalism, one that implies support for citizens' rights to keep and carry arms, as well as strong defense. Does this promote the intensification of Dukakis' campaign and an increase in his popularity? Some feel that he managed to achieve some success, but it is doubtful this will lead to his victory.

We should not forget that on 8 November Americans will have to elect not only the president and vice president but also 33 out of 100 Senators and 435 members of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, as well as 13 governors, and hundreds of city mayors. I should remind you that the Democrat had a six-man majority in the Senate of the 100th Congress which has ended its work. Out of the 33 Senators whose terms end this year, 18 are Democrats and 15 are Republicans. In the beginning of the current election campaign it was thought that Democrats would not merely retain their majority in the Senate, but increase it somewhat. However, Bush's considerable lead against Dukakis may be reflected in the Democrats' chances in Congress. The matter lies in that many people vote party line, not wishing to make half-way decisions and have a Republican President and a Democrat Senator.

In the beginning of the campaign, Democrats also hoped to increase their representation in the House, where they hold a considerable majority even without this increase. However, Dukakis' likely failure may change the situation. As a result they may lose from 5 to 15 seats.

Intense competition between the two parties' champions is expected in the struggle for posts of governors and mayors, including New York City's mayor.

Accused Pro-Nazi Resigns From Bush Campaign

LD0411181988 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 4 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Kikilo reports:

Another member of the Bush electoral campaign team has resigned after being accused of pro-Nazi views.

It was Axelis Mangulis, head of the "Latvians for Bush" organization, who at the same time cooperated with the Coalition of American Nationalities formed by Bush for the purpose of campaigning among the U.S. national minorities. A spokesman for the Republican electoral campaign team announced his resignation.

During World War II Axelis Mangulis was member of the "Latvian Legion", a para-military group connected with SS units, the AP news agency reported. When representatives of the newspaper PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER announced their intention to publish an article about this fact from his biography in one of the coming issues, Mangulis did not wait for a scandal to break out and preferred to resign.

This is the 8th resignation of this kind in the past several weeks. Florian Galdau, honorary president of the Coalition of American Nationalities, had to resign early in September after similar charges were brought against him. According to the U.S. press, he headed a New York pro-Nazi organization of people of Romanian extraction. The Associated Political Studies Organization prepared a detailed and well-documented report about the old Nazis, the new right-wing politicians and the Reagan administration. According to the report, Nazi supporters who fled across the ocean after the war not only avoided punishment but also were given access to the top echelons of power in the United States.

The newspaper VILLAGE VOICE came into possession of a document of the National Committee of the Republican Party which shows that starting from the late 40s the leadership of the Republican Party has widely used in political campaigns the experience of the "struggle against communism" accumulated by traitors and outcasts from the USSR and other East European countries who fled to the U.S.

According to the newspaper, the Council for National Groups of the Republican Heritage set up later under the Republican Party was made up almost exclusively of representatives of the ultra-right-wing emigre groups.

Reagan Signs Bill To Join Convention on Genocide
LD0411213288 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 4 TASS—U.S. President Reagan signed on Friday in unusual circumstances a bill which removes the last obstacles to the United States joining the convention on the prevention of and punishment for the crime of genocide. The ceremony took place at Chicago International Airport where Reagan arrived as part of the election campaign.

It took the United States 40 years to join this international convention adopted by the United Nations in 1948. The bill committing the United States to join the convention was submitted to the Congress for the first time in 1949. However, groups of conservative legislators blocked it till February 1986 when the Senate voted for the ratification of the document. Nevertheless it took the Congress more than 2 years and a half to send the bill to the President for signing.

More than 100 U.N. members are now signatories to this international convention.

Reagan Signs Draft Law on AIDS Research
LD0511201988 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 5 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports:

President of the United States Ronald Reagan signed on Friday [5 November] a draft law envisaging the increase of appropriations on research into and prevention of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome to reach 870 million dollars a year. This measure was necessitated by the fact that the horrible disease which was named The "20th century plague" assumed epidemic proportions in the United States.

According to the information of federal centres for AIDS control, as many as 1.5 million residents of the United States have contracted the virus of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. As many as 43,177 Americans died of AIDS as of June 1, 1981.

Out of the 870 million dollars a year allocated for combating AIDS, 670 million dollars is meant for expanding scientific and medical base of research in the area of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome while the remaining sum is meant for medical examination of Americans to prevent the spread of AIDS virus.

Both presidential candidates—the current Vice President Republican George Bush and governor of Massachusetts, Democrat Michael Dukakis—declared in support of the legislative act aimed at working out a broader and more effective programme of research into AIDS and preventive measures against the disease.

Commentary Criticizes U.S. Policy in Afghanistan
LD0211222688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] The CIA's operations in Pakistan in connection with the war in Afghanistan are among the most major conducted by the CIA at any time since the days of the Vietnam war. This was stated in an interview for the authors of the BBC documentary program "Panorama" entitled "Pakistan: Paying for a Holy War," by Selig Harrison, a staff member of the Carnegie Institute.

In the words of the program's authors, the Pakistani special services passed to members of the Afghan opposition, weapons and rockets valued at \$1.4 billion, and these operations were financed by the CIA. The following is a commentary by Aleksandr Malikov:

[Malikov] The BBC documentary is far from a revelation. So much U.S. weaponry has now accumulated in Afghanistan that, according to the assertions of Selig Harrison, it is possible to fight without interruption for at least 5 years.

Indeed, the director of the CIA himself, William Webster, says not without pride that the opposition groups are now better armed than ever before, attributing this to the department he leads.

But is it worth wringing one's hands with glee at this? Just think how much has been destroyed; how many lives have been taken by U.S. weapons in the almost 10 years of war in Afghanistan. And they are continuing to kill. Incidentally, the U.S. weapons have another target: now they are being fired at the Geneva agreements, making the return of peace a distant prospect. Consequently, they are also being fired at those 5 million Afghans who pinned their hope of returning home from Iran and Pakistan to the withdrawal of our troops.

By the way, the enormous consignments of U.S. weapons that have flooded into Pakistan have become a burning problem for that country too, for its own inhabitants. On the black market, U.S. weapons can, for example, be rented for just a few hours. For what? The sharp jump in criminal offenses or simply senseless mass murders on the streets of Karachi, Heyderabad, and other Pakistani cities—that is the sad response to that question. In a word, violence leads to new violence, and it has now already crossed the border of Afghanistan.

The official version that the deliveries of U.S. weapons allegedly serves to achieve peace in the region and in Afghanistan itself, hardly looks convincing in light of other facts.

After all, CIA director William Webster himself predicts that U.S. weapons will unavoidably be put into action as soon as the members of the opposition start to divide up the power pie—that is, it goes without saying, if things ever get that far.

In a word, whichever way you look at it, the U.S. policy of supplying weapons is a policy aimed at destroying the bridges leading to a peaceful future in Afghanistan.

Against the background of this destructive policy, the recent proposal by President Najibullah to demilitarize the country with the involvement of the international community looks like a creative idea. In his view, it would then be possible to organize the collection of all foreign weapons inside Afghanistan and to then return them to the producer countries.

I think that this is a balanced proposal worthy of attention, because it rests on the recognition of an incontestable truth of our time, which is: The fewer the weapons, the greater the security.

U.S. Special Units in FRG Cause 'Political Scandal'
18010145 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
4 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Captain M. Zheglov: "'Fighters Against Atomic Terrorism' or How the United States Respects the Sovereignty of Its Allies"]

[Text] The news produced the effect of an exploding bomb: F. Ost, an official representative of the FRG Government, confirmed the existence on West German territory of special groups of the U.S. Armed Forces designated for opposing "atomic terrorism" and for action in the event of an incident with nuclear weapons. From time to time questions about these special units have been raised by representatives of the West German mass media. But the journalists were never able to get any concrete information. Representatives of the command of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe and the Main Staff of the Bundeswehr were silent; the FRG Government categorically denied the very thought of the existence of such units, subordinate, as it has since been revealed, only to Washington and the U.S. Embassy in Bonn.

Today it does not make sense to preserve the silence. The press organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the weekly VORWAERTS, published the details of a secret plan, in which is indicated not only the existence of the special groups, but also their basing locations—the U.S. bases at Frankfurt-on-Main, Ramstein, Hahn, Heil-deburg, and Stuttgart. The plan worked out by the U.S. command contains still more interesting information: It turns out that the U.S. Armed Forces propose if necessary to take upon themselves the functions of the FRG civilian authorities, to introduce censorship in the country where they are located and so on. Furthermore, the plan also foresees the use of weapons if "hostile acts by opposition and radical elements" occur against U.S. servicemen or military bases.

The publication in VORWAERTS relegated to the background an event which was also widely discussed in the FRG: Thirty-nine U.S. Apache combat helicopters were, with extreme cautionary measures, shipped to the country in disassembled form. After assembly, according to DPA, relying in turn on representatives of the West German Ministry of Defense, they will be transferred to the airbase in Weisbaden-Erbenheim, where as it is known, in general complexity the U.S. command plans to deploy by 1993 an additional 180 combat airplanes and helicopters. The government of the state of Hesse, where the base is situated, decisively opposed the deployment of the additional quantity of combat equipment, considering that the U.S. machines will create a serious threat to the security of civilian aircraft flights.

At first glance it may seem that there is nothing in common between the VORWAERTS sensation and the Apaches. But this is only at first glance. It is impossible not to see that the existence on FRG territory of special

U.S. units with extraordinary authority and a widening network of military sites despite the desires of the citizens of the FRG are examples, to put it mildly, of a disrespectful U.S. attitude toward the sovereignty of its ally. It is no coincidence that the deputy chairman of the SPD, H. Daeubler-Gmelin, called for the FRG Government to publish all the agreements regulating the relations of the FRG with her allies in NATO and to conduct wide discussions regarding them. "We must not allow others to treat us like a satellite or like a 'banana republic,'" she said in one of her appearances.

The opposition demands were given a hostile response by Bonn, which affirmed that the question of the presence on West German territory of the U.S. special units is fully regulated from the point of view of the law and there is no need for a review of the existing agreements with the allies. The political scandal on the banks of the Rhine is gaining force.

Demonstration Protests U.S. Aid for Contras
*LD0611194588 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT
6 Nov 88*

[Text] San Francisco November 6 TASS—An antiwar demonstration keyed by the slogan "Peace to Central America" was held on Saturday on the main streets of Berkeley, California. Its participants voiced protest over the continuing U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan contras and expressed grave concern over the intensification of contacts between American secret services and the counter-revolutionary forces of the region.

The CIA is escalating its covert war against Nicaragua, Federal agents kill civilians, Aid is continuing, Nicaragua be on guard—these and other colorful placards were carried by protestors from the campus of the country's largest University of California to the square before the town hall. A petition was handed over asking members of the city council to endorse a resolution condemning the White House policy in Central America. The meeting was addressed by the eye-witnesses of the crimes of contras—Salvadoran refugees, members of American delegations who have just come from Nicaragua where they rendered volunteer aid to civilians.

The protest was organized by the organization the committee in support of Nicaragua and the aid network for Salvadoran refugees. They received active support from local anti-war groups, religious communities and student associations.

Yakovlev, U.S. Financier Discuss Cooperation
*LD0311102488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 2 Nov 88*

[Text] On 2 November Comrade Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Mr Soros, an eminent American financier and president of the Soros Management Fund.

There was a warm, constructive exchange of views on questions of Soviet-U.S. exchanges and cooperation in the areas of science, culture, and staff training.

U.S. Holding Back on Business Deals With USSR
*LD0411201388 Moscow World Service in English
0410 GMT 4 Nov 88*

[From the "Update" program with Dmitriy Linnik and Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Excerpts] [Linnik] With Soviet-American relations obviously sidelined due to the Presidential campaign in the United States, the Soviet Union has made impressive gains in strengthening its ties with Western Europe—both political and economic as we see it. [passage omitted]

With the unprecedented borrowing in the foreign money markets the Soviet Union reportedly is increasing its foreign debt, which is currently estimated at \$40 billion. Some foreign observers have described this effort as a sign of desperation. Well, is this nation indeed as desperate for foreign loans as some people have suggested?

[Reshetnikov] Well, first of all, any financial expert would attest that this country has an excellent debt servicing record. We have never had a problem with debt servicing in the past and there is nothing to suggest that though the situation might, might be different in fact in future. [as heard] [passage omitted]

[Linnik] Well still, some Western leaders express concern that Western banks may be rushing in too quickly for business deals with the Soviet Union. What's behind this concern?

[Reshetnikov] It should be noted that such expressions of concern come primarily from American officials. So far American businessmen have been far behind their Western partners, West European partners, in striking up commercial deals with the Soviet Union. Last month U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci said that the increased Western loans to the Soviet Union would allow Moscow to avoid making a choice between funding Soviet economic reforms and making cuts in defense spending. Apparently the U.S. official missed the point that Western credits would be used primarily to improve consumer industries, and with all the Western credit the modernization program would be carried out largely by domestic resources. As for defense spendings, we have suggested reducing them, together with NATO members. We have reduced our military spending as a result of the INF accord. There is a good chance to cut back on military spending in view of the forthcoming talks on conventional forces, and if the American Administration was just as interested we might already have struck a deal for reducing our strategic nuclear arsenals. Where there's a will there's a way you know.

Journal Cited on Soviet-Western Companies
LD3010223288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 30 Oct 88

[Summary] The October issue of VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA reports that nearly 100 Soviet-Western joint companies have been set up and this number could double by the end of the year. Correspondent Vladimir Savchenko describes one of them—the Soviet-U.S. Dialogue Company—which produces personal computers and various programs for them. It has produced 600 personal computers this year using U.S. components. The company was founded by the U.S. firm Management Partnership International and the Soviet organizations KamAZ, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institutes of Space Research, Moscow State University, and the VDNKh Computer Center. The assembly of the computers is now carried out at the KamAZ and is planned to be extended to enterprises in Riga and the Novomoskovskaya agro-industrial association.

Dialogue Director-General Petr Zrellov says the company is making a profit already, which is being invested immediately into developing production. Branches of the company, which will house additional production of computers and computer components, as well as a scientific research center accommodating 50 programmers, are currently under construction. A number of contracts have been signed with large Western programming companies that will help market the products in the West in exchange for assistance with programming, which is the Soviet strength.

China

TASS Cites Zhao Remarks on Sino-Soviet Summit
LD0511125688 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Beijing November 5 TASS—A Soviet-Chinese summit will possibly take place in the first half of next year, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Zhao Ziyang, has said here.

He said prospects for the meeting depend on progress in settling the Kampuchea issue and on the results of an exchange of visits by the Chinese and Soviet foreign ministers late this year and early in 1989.

If everything is okay, the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping can be held in Beijing, Zhao added.

He said the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will definitely lead to broader cooperation between the two countries in the economy, science and technology.

Asked if China and the Soviet Union will sign any treaty after normalizing bilateral relations, Zhao said that even if the summit takes place and bilateral relations return to normal, ties should only be built on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

China pursues an independent policy and will not form an allied relationship with any major power, he said, adding that this policy will remain intact.

Observer on Improvement in Relations With China
OW0311151288 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Commentary by TASS political observer Yakovlev]

[Text] Listeners: We have reported that the third round of Soviet-Chinese border talks was held in Moscow. In this connection, Yakovlev, a TASS political observer, writes:

Both sides highly evaluate the talks, stressing that settling border problems is helpful in settling problems left over from the past, establishing goodneighborly relations, and promoting mutual trust. The vice foreign ministerial talks were in line with the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and development of [words indistinct]. Both countries will have increasingly better contacts and mutual trust. The normalization of bilateral ties will provide excellent opportunities for both countries to exchange their experiences and carry out mutually beneficial cooperation.

Great changes have taken place in the world in recent years: relation between China and the United States have been normalized; relations between the USSR and China have also improved somewhat; steps have been taken toward nuclear disarmament; and international economic cooperation has developed. However, significant changes have not yet taken place in Soviet-Chinese relations, and this is not in the interest of the peoples of the two countries and other countries.

Because of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, the issue of holding a high-level meeting [gao ji hui wu] has naturally been placed on the agenda, and both sides have recently expressed their readiness for such a meeting. Now the issue of high-level meeting has become a realistic one. Last September the two countries reached an accord on the exchange of visits by the two countries' foreign ministers. Such visits will create a foundation for the high-level meeting.

The Chinese side, however, has pointed out that barriers have to be removed, especially those caused by the Cambodian issue, before there is a high-level meeting and normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. Certain things have already been accomplished in this regard.

During the bilateral working meeting held in Beijing not long ago to discuss the settlement of the Cambodian issue, both countries broadened their mutual understanding on this issue.

Certain people and media in the West have made great efforts to disseminate skepticism over the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. They maintain that once the USSR and China normalize their relations, the two countries will join hands to oppose the capitalist world. The Soviet Union has time and again stated that it will not do anything to benefit itself at the expense of any other country.

Complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will undoubtedly play a significant role in improving the international climate and [words indistinct] in Asia.

PRC Leaders' Anniversary Message Published
PM0611174388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[PRC leaders' greetings to Gorbachev, Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

On behalf of the PRC National People's Congress Standing Committee, the Chinese Government, and the Chinese people we send the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people cordial congratulations on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Over the last 71 years, thanks to tireless efforts and quests, the Soviet people have achieved tremendous successes in building their country. The Chinese people rejoice at these successes and are following with understanding the restructuring that has been started in the Soviet Union in recent years and the Soviet people's multifaceted work with a view to the faster economic development of the country.

The Chinese people entertain friendly feelings toward the Soviet people. The establishment of normal relations of the new type between the PRC and the USSR on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence accords with the vital interests of the two countries and their peoples and benefits peace and development in Asia and throughout the world. In recent years Chinese-Soviet relations have been somewhat improved and developed. We sincerely hope that both sides will make effective efforts to implement the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations as speedily as possible.

We wish the Soviet people new successes in socialist building and in the cause of restructuring.

We wish prosperity to the Land of the Soviets, and happiness to its people.

[Signed] Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC

Wan Li, chairman of the PRC National People's Congress Standing Committee

Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council

Chinese Politburo Discusses Agricultural Reform
PM0311082588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Attending to Agriculture"]

[Text] Beijing, 30 Oct—The CPC Central Committee Politburo, at a routine session chaired by CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, has discussed questions of the development of PRC agriculture in the past decade and outlined measures to accelerate reforms in the countryside.

Both the merits and the shortcomings of the PRC economy were noted at the session. The latter include the continuing disparity between supply of and demand for the main types of agricultural products. The elimination of this contradiction, session participants stressed, requires constant attention to the needs of agriculture, which, as is known, is the basis of the Chinese economy.

The CPC Central Committee Politburo adopted a decision on the elaboration of long-term and medium-term plans for reform in the countryside and the development of agricultural production. It is proposed that the problems that exist in the sector will mainly be solved through the further improvement of the contract system of responsibility, the widening of investment sources and volumes, and active introduction of the achievements of science and technology into production.

TRUD Cites PRC Trade Unionist on Reform
PM2610164588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
22 Oct 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Sukhotin interview with Da Zhong, deputy (not further specified) of the All-China Light Industry Workers Trade Union: "Powerful Boost"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Beijing, 21 Oct—Red flags and slogans of welcome adorned the All-China Federation of Trade Unions building. The 11th All-China Trade Union Congress opens today in the PRC capital. Its 1,515 delegates from the country's 30 provinces, autonomous areas, and major cities will sum up the results of 5 years of work, map out the tasks for the future, amend trade union statutes, and effect certain changes in leading organs.

Our Beijing correspondent asked the All-China Federation of Trade Unions to talk about the main aspects of the reform of Chinese trade unions that will be discussed at the congress. Da Zhong, deputy of the All-China Light Industry Workers Trade Union, answered his questions.

"China's workers," he said, "greet the 11th trade union congress with joy and excitement. They hope that after it new changes will take place in the work of this organization. Now that reforms are being implemented throughout the country, trade union work is also in need of restructuring."

"During the period of the initial stage of socialism in China," Da Zhong continued, "many new problems are cropping up that are difficult to resolve using previous forms and methods of trade union work. We have come to the conclusion that PRC trade unions must perform four basic functions: They must protect working class interests, build new trade union organizations, take part in elaborating the most important government decisions, and educate working people."

"At present we need first of all to find correct relations between the trade unions and the party and administrative organs. We also need to reform the style of work within the trade unions, to establish close ties with the people, and to transform the trade unions into a really democratic organization."

"Boosting the activeness of primary trade union organizations is another dimension of the reform. The way in which the plans for trade union restructuring are implemented is dependent primarily on these organizations and it is only through them that workers will be able to sense that the trade unions are really protecting their rights. Our work must accord with the demands of the developing commodity economy and grassroots trade union organizations must develop their activity independently and autonomously and proceed on the basis of their own specific situation."

Certain figures that All-China Federation of Trade Union workers gave to TRUD's correspondent are an eloquent indication of the changes that have taken place in the activity of Chinese trade unions in the past few years. Thus, from late 1982 through late 1987 the number of workers and employees in PRC cities rose from 110 million to some 130 million, that is an increase of 18 percent. Over the same period the number of trade union members rose from 73.31 million to 93.36 million, that is an increase of 27.3 percent. Meetings of the representatives of workers and employees are held at many enterprises. A total of 1,486,000 managers underwent democratic discussion at these meetings. The activity of 122,000 leaders won the approval of the masses and 16,000 people were relieved of their posts following the recommendation of the trade unions.

Chinese trade unions take an active part in drafting state laws and organize worker monitoring of their fulfillment. In the past 5 years the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has been involved in elaborating the drafts of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the Law on the Enterprise, the Law on Bankruptcy, the Law on Labor Protection, and the Law on Labor Safety and Hygiene Measures at Work in Mines. Trade unions have submitted a number of proposals linked with the reform of prices and wages. At present an army of 100,000 worker inspectors led by the trade unions is monitoring prices in 800 Chinese cities. In 1985-1987 the saving from invention and rationalization activity, which is also supervised by trade unions, exceeded 30 billion yuan.

In accordance with the principle of "independence and broad ties," the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has established contacts with more than 130 trade union centers in various countries and regions. Its ties have in recent years been restored and broadened with trade unions in the USSR and a number of European socialist countries and relations have been organized with trade unions in many Asian and Latin American states.

All these figures only partially cover the activity of Chinese trade unions with their history of 68 years of victories and defeats, difficulties and successes, stagnation and reform. The congress that has opened will give a powerful boost to the transformations in the PRC's largest public organization.

USSR-PRC Railroad Link To Be Completed
PM0311143188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA own correspondent E. Matskevich: "Friendship Line"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—A final document between Soviet and Chinese railroad workers on constructing a crossing between the Druzhba (USSR) and Ala-Shankou (PRC) border stations has been signed in the Kazakh capital.

In front of me is a yellowed sheet from the NOVO-STROYKA factory newspaper published almost 30 years ago. It was published for the construction workers of the "Turksibtransstroy" Trust who as far back as 1960 had laid over 300 km of track along the route from Aktogay to the state border. The construction workers' newspaper at that time recorded this event widely. "Steel Highway Built—Friendship Highway," it announced in a splash headline.

In the single pass between the spurs of the northern Tian-Shan, whipped by the fierce "evgey" and "saikang" winds, it is a very short distance to our neighbors in the PRC's Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region through the historically famed Dzungarian Gate. The Trans-Asia main railroad linking Lanzhou, Urumqi, and Alma-Ata was once supposed to reach the gate. For well known

reasons this project was not implemented at that time. Just a few trains serving fishermen, construction workers, geologists, and border guards used the Aktogay-Druzhba section....

Today, when relations between the two countries have improved and real opportunities for expanding trade and economic ties are emerging, the question of speeding up the opening of the railroad has become a direct vital necessity.

The agreement that has been outlined envisages completing the connecting tracks in approximately 1990 and beginning international traffic in the second half of 1992. Representatives of the railroad workers on both sides believe it is possible to speed up the work. The Chinese construction workers have already constructed a 236 km branch from the center of the Urumqi autonomous region, covering more than half the distance to Druzhba. Conditions on these sections are not easy. It is necessary to build dozens of bridges across mountain rivers and to dig tunnels through the cliffs.

Soviet construction workers will also have to do a great deal of work. Tracks and station buildings will be updated, and a center for adjusting railroad cars to operate on the different gage will be built.

"An operations group has been set up to prepare the work," K. Kobzhasarov, chief of the Alma-Ata Railroad Administration, says. "The design-estimate documentation has been obtained from the archives, and the disposition of forces is being estimated. The first joint meeting of specialists and designers is already planned for December in the Kazakh capital, and the next one will take place in Urumqi. In short, a start has already been made to the good work."

The new "railroad bridge" with China will make it possible not only to develop border ties and increase international trade, but also—an important point—in the long term to more rapidly transport from Southeast Asia to Europe freight that used to go long distances by sea.

PRC Research Center Delegation Tours USSR
OW2110223788 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Professor Zhang Pan, deputy director general of the Economic, Technological, and Social Development Research Center under the PRC State Council, told TASS reporters that the prospects for economic and scientific cooperation between the Soviet Union and China are good.

A delegation of the research center headed by him visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences. During the past 2 weeks, the delegation has visited 11 science institutes and many industrial and agricultural enterprises in Moscow, Tbilisi, Tallinn, and Novosibirsk.

Northeast Asia

Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev on Japan Ties
OW0311101388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] What is the present status of Soviet-Japanese relations? Moscow Radio reporter (Komisarov) asked this question of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev.

You will now listen to answers to this question from the USSR Foreign Ministry news.

[Begin Rogachev recording in Russian, fading into Japanese translation] Japanese-Soviet relations since World War II have traversed a very complicated, winding path. So said Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev.

Despite the proposal made by the Soviet side time and again to conclude a peace treaty with Japan, the treaty has not yet been concluded. However, relations between the two countries are founded on firm, treaty-like legal grounds.

Political dialogue is being held in various forms, although in reality it is interrupted every now and then. As for us, we must emphasize that we feel the development of bilateral relations on the whole in the past few years has been very slow.

In some areas there is a retreat from even the standing accomplishments. However, we are not to blame for this. It is the Japanese leadership's way of doing things. The Japanese side's main reason is the so-called territorial issue. They call for the reversion to Japan of the four Kurile islands, which have belonged to the Soviet Union since the end of World War II.

Mr Rogachev continued: Of course, we cannot find the present situation in our mutual relations with Japan satisfactory. This situation is totally unrepresentative of the potential capacity of the bilateral relations in view of both their roles and positions in the present-day world. This fact looks particularly salient today when Soviet-U.S. relations are showing progress.

This progress in Soviet-Japanese relations is now pushing the Japanese leadership in the direction of reviewing their Soviet policy.

In December, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will visit Japan; and next February, a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation will visit Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Dietmen's League for Japan-Soviet Friendship.

We are ready to hold political dialogue with Japan. We are ready to explore ways of further developing bilateral relations in all areas. However, this is on the condition that we base ourselves on an equal and reciprocal foundation and without attaching any preconditions. [end recording]

Shalayev Talks With Korean Union Official
PM0611201588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
1 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Friendly Talks"]

[Text] AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev received Kim Pong-chu, chairman of the Central Committee of Korea's United Trade Unions, who is visiting the USSR, in the Palace of Labor 31 October.

Questions of further Soviet-Korean trade union cooperation and of the international trade union movement were discussed during the talks, which were held in a fraternal, cordial atmosphere.

MPR's Batmonh Receives Kirghiz Party Leader
PM0611200188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Fruitful Collaboration"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 31 Oct—J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium, today received a CPSU delegation headed by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

J. Batmonh described the implementation of the 19th MPRP Congress' decisions and the processes of renewal that are taking place in the economy and spheres of the country's social life. He highly praised the fruitful collaboration between the MPRP and the CPSU in party building and the level of development of the all-around cooperation between Mongolia and the USSR. The Mongolian leader expressed satisfaction at the establishment of direct ties between Mongolia and Kirghizia and noted that the plans for the exchange of experience between the republics are being successfully fulfilled.

Masaliyev, Delegation End Visit

PM0611201988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Acquaintance With Experience"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the MPRP, a delegation of CPSU workers headed by A.M. Masaliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, visited Mongolia 25 October through 1 November to familiarize itself with the experience of the activity of MPRP organizations to implement the decisions of the 19th party congress.

The delegation was received by J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze, Hun Sen View Cambodia Settlement
PM0411145388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met 2 November with Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and PRK foreign minister, who is stopping over in Moscow.

The meeting participants devoted their main attention to examining issues linked with the development of the situation around Cambodia.

E.A. Shevardnadze stated that the Soviet Union welcomes the PRK Government's constructive efforts to resolve the conflict and wholly supports the national reconciliation policy that it has put forward and consistently implemented. The USSR foreign minister noted the enterprising nature and great political value of the PRK and SRV decision to withdraw a major contingent of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Cambodia in the current year, and the flexibility of the PRK's positions at the informal meeting between the Khmer sides and the working group session in Indonesia.

The sides reaffirmed their profound conviction that the settlement of the Cambodia conflict is an indispensable condition for ensuring peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region as a whole.

The USSR and the PRK proceed on the basis that peace can be achieved only through strict observance of the Cambodian people's rights to self-determination and independent path of development, noninterference in their internal affairs, and consideration for the interests of all sides in the conflict.

The particular importance was noted of the implementation of the agreement at the informal meeting in Indonesia that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia and the prevention of the restoration of the policies and practices of the genocidal Pol Pot regime are key questions in any settlement.

Hun Sen stated that he is going to Paris to meet with Prince N. Sihanouk full of good will with a view to finding realistic and mutually acceptable approaches to the speediest political resolution and achievement of national reconciliation in Cambodia.

E.A. Shevardnadze welcomed this PRK approach and expressed the hope that the third round of the intra-Cambodian dialogue would be a weighty contribution to the settlement of the situation around Cambodia. This would be welcomed by all advocates of resolving the conflict in Southeast Asia.

The Cambodian leader said that the PRK considers the USSR's constructive new initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech a major new step by the Soviet Union along the road toward ensuring peace and security in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. Cambodia will make its contribution to achieving these noble aims, particularly by building up efforts to resolve the Cambodian question.

Hun Sen stressed that the Soviet Union's activity in the international arena to resolve the conflict around Cambodia effectively promotes the broadening of spheres of coincidence in different sides' approaches to a number of aspects of the problem, and is conducive to the creation of favorable conditions for the development of an inter-Khmer dialogue and other forms of contacts on the Cambodia problem.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternal mutual understanding on all the questions under discussion.

Upcoming Hun Sen-Sihanouk Talks Evaluated
BK0311041688 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1230 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Viktor Valentinov commentary]

[Text] At the Grillon Hotel in Paris preparations have almost been completed for a meeting of important guests. On the morning of 5 November, Comrade Hun Sen, head of the PRK Government, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Mr Son Sann, leaders of two Cambodian opposition groups, will meet here. In connection with this event, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, a Soviet journalist specializing in international affairs, has this to say:

Regrettably, it is still not known whether Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan will join the Grillon Hotel meeting or not. Samdech Sihanouk extended an invitation to him a long time ago, but so far, there has been no response.

It will certainly be regrettable if Khieu Samphan refuses to go to Paris. It should be noted that no Khmer Rouge representative was present at the Jakarta working group meeting of the Cambodian forces involved in the conflict. I must repeat that this is regrettable because problems related to the Khmer Rouge and the role it might play in a settlement of the Cambodian crisis will certainly be discussed at the Grillon Hotel meeting.

No doubt, those who do attend the meeting will want to know about Khieu Samphan's attitude. At least, I can speak for Mr. Hun Sen on this. No, I did not talk with him before he left for Paris, but I read his interview with AFP in which he described the role that might be played by the Khmer Rouge in a Cambodian solution. Comrade Hun Sen's main view is that reunification is not possible without the Khmer Rouge, the strongest faction among the opposition groups. A reunification policy will be effective only if it is based on international principles; that is, with the participation of all factions. If the strongest and most organized group refuses to join in a reunification and turns a deaf ear to this process, it will not be reunification, but just a temporary compromise that might burst into a new conflict in the future. In the PRK prime minister's opinion, this new explosion, if it bursts out after Vietnamese troops are withdrawn from the country, will become a civil war. We prefer the current situation in which there are only some isolated military clashes to a civil war, Mr Hun Sen said in the AFP interview.

Therefore, the PRK favors Khmer Rouge participation in the talks and, consequently, in a solution. However, in this matter, consideration must be given to some [words indistinct] circumstances. The invitation for the Khmer Rouge to participate does not mean the PRK Government, which represents the interests of the overwhelming majority of Cambodians, is ready to sit at a single table with Pol Pot and his close associates. In his AFP interview, Comrade Hun Sen stressed: To the Cambodian people, Pol Pot and his accomplices, who shed the blood of 3 million of their Cambodian compatriots, are unpardonable criminals.

In Comrade Hun Sen's opinion, it is necessary to exclude Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Ieng Thirith—Ieng Sary's wife—and a number of other chieftains from the process of settling the Cambodian problem. Those who replace these elements at the helm of this group must act not as leaders of a military-political group, but as ordinary Cambodian citizens. This is a basis for possible talks with the Khmer Rouge.

In our opinion, Comrade Hun Sen, Samdech Sihanouk, and Mr Son Sann do not have any major differences on this problem because they have all been victimized by the Pol Pot clique, and they know better than anyone else about all of the crimes committed by the clique. This is why, as responsible politicians, they will not let themselves be fooled into negotiating with the bandits, risking the damage of their notoriety.

So it seems the coming Grillon Hotel meeting will not be an easy one. It is better not to expect total success for these talks.

It is not difficult for us to understand the careful attitude displayed by Hun Sen in the AFP interview in which he said, among other things: The fact that we will meet is in itself encouraging and shows that each of us is seeking a way out of the current impasse.

Solton Previews Talks

BK0411033188 *Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia*
1230 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] Cambodian leader Comrade Hun Sen is scheduled to meet with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in Paris at the end of this week.

In the opinion of Comrade Yuriy Solton, our commentator, the meeting of these two officials is of special significance. Our commentator writes:

During the past 12 months, great efforts have been made to solve the serious conflict in Indochina. This good deed is attributable not only to the Cambodian and Vietnamese leaders but also to the ASEAN countries.

The informal meeting in Indonesia, which was attended by the ASEAN countries and the Cambodian opposition groups, has helped create a concrete plan for the solution which has two interrelated principles, that is the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and preventing the Pol Pot clique from returning to power in Cambodia.

The withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia has proceeded at a rapid pace. At present, the number of Vietnamese volunteer combatants has been cut down by two-thirds compared with 1979. All of them will be withdrawn by the end of 1989 or even earlier if a political solution is reached.

Concerning matters relating to the internal solution, the national reconciliation policy declared by Phnom Penh still faces obstacles. It should be noted that the Cambodian leaders do not oppose the Khmer Rouge participation in the settlement of the conflict. But they do not want anything to become entangled with Pol Pot and his henchmen, whose hands are stained with the blood of more than 3 million people. The Cambodian leaders

proposed that China, Thailand, and a number of Western countries stop giving aid to them. The Khmer Rouge representative did not attend the meeting in Jakarta. Comrade Hun Sen stressed that even if the Khmer Rouge does not take part in the dialogue, still there are possibilities and the need for concluding a peaceful agreement between the Cambodian Government and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's group.

In my opinion, this is the comrade's principle for his Paris meeting.

On his way to Paris, Comrade Hun Sen stopped over in Moscow in order to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The Soviet Union has welcomed the Cambodian Government's constructive efforts to seek solution to the conflict, and has fully supported the policy of national reconciliation in Cambodia. The interlocutors stressed confidently that a solution to the Cambodian problem is an indispensable condition for ensuring peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region.

Commentary Criticizes Thai, Khmer Rouge Actions

BK3010062688 *Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia*
1230 GMT 29 October 88

[Viktor Valentinov commentary]

[Text] As everyone knows, the JIM [Jakarta informal meeting] working group ended its meeting in Jakarta on the Cambodian conflict in vain. The participants did not reach an agreement, but they did agree to hold another meeting in December. Comrade Viktor Valentinov writes a relevant commentary, the contents of which follow:

The Khmer Rouge's attitude had an impact on the outcome of the JIM working group meeting. Their absence from the meeting resulted in a judgment of the positions of the four Cambodian parties, primarily in connection with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann's groups, which are politically linked with the Khmer Rouge. Another stumbling block at the meeting, in my opinion, was the Thai delegation's rejection of the agreement reached at the July Bogor meeting. We would like to note that they agreed at that meeting that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia should be made under the condition that military aid to the Khmer Rouge is stopped, meaning the two questions are interrelated. In Bogor, the Thai diplomats accepted this condition. But, now, Bangkok is ignoring this principle and demanding that Vietnam withdraw its troops from Cambodia without a halt in aid to the Pol Pot group.

It is worth noting that Hanoi and Phnom Penh have presented a resolution on withdrawing Vietnamese troops from Cambodia by early 1990 at the latest. In Bogor, this overture was highly valued and it even facilitated adoption of the agreement linking the Vietnamese troop pullout with the cessation of aid to the Pol

Pot group. The Pol Pot clique is poised to start a civil war and to try to retake power in Cambodia in the wake of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann have equally realized this. However, Bangkok carelessly expressed its viewpoint about the issue.

At the Jakarta meeting, the Indochinese countries presented a new proposal on settlement of the conflict, including a request for joint discussion. This is a fine, serious, and concrete initiative. The working group also insisted on the proposal. However, when the proposal was on the negotiating table, the outside forces changed their minds and hurriedly launched a flurry of destructive criticism of it.

Their distortion of reality cannot continue forever, but it is a question of prime importance for all of the Cambodians. For instance, the question of Cambodia's independence and sovereignty and respect for Cambodian neutrality, as well as timeframe for the Vietnamese troop withdrawal demanded by Vietnam and Cambodia's enemies for consideration, have already been presented, but in the end, they do not want to consider them. This makes us realize that behind the process of resolving the Cambodian problem, there are forces that are striving to obstruct it until it is a complete failure. The attitudes of the Khmer Rouge, the Thai diplomats, and backers of the move show their obvious intention of causing the process to suffer a definitive setback.

Moscow Cites UN Debate on Cambodian Problem
BK0411133888 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1100 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] The UN General Assembly session has ended its debate on the Cambodian problem. According to those taking part in the debate, people still adhere to the position that the Cambodian problem should be solved peacefully. The resolution adopted clearly shows the positive tendency developing in Cambodia. However, this resolution maintains a number of attitudes that are not appropriate. Nineteen delegates, including the Soviet delegate, voted against this resolution while 13 others abstained.

SRV Leader Comments on Treaty Anniversary
PM0611202588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Powerful Boost"]

[Text] Hanoi, 1 Nov—Vietnamese-Soviet friendship, to whose strengthening the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], the CPSU, and the two fraternal countries' peoples devote a lot of effort, has stood the test of time and is continuously developing and strengthening. Graphic confirmation of this is provided by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the SRV and the USSR concluded 3 November 1978. That event, whose 10th anniversary we are celebrating, Nguyen Van

Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, said in an interview with TASS correspondents, marked a new stage in the development of relations between the two countries and gave a powerful boost to the strengthening of the traditional friendship and all-around cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

The document very clearly defined the peace-loving foreign policy line of the SRV and the USSR and asserted the unity of the two parties' and states' approaches to questions of cooperation in the international arena in the interests of the cause of peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia, in the Asia and Pacific region, and throughout the world.

Over the past 10 years, the Vietnamese leader pointed out, relations between the two countries have developed strongly in very diverse forms in all spheres and at all levels. The CPV and the government and people of Vietnam evaluate highly the Soviet Union's support for the SRV's peace-loving foreign policy and for its efforts in the cause of developing a dialogue in Southeast Asia aimed at resolving the Cambodian problem and strengthening peace and cooperation in the region.

The past period has been marked by a widening of the scale of economic cooperation between Vietnam and the Land of the Soviets. The USSR is continuing to give the SRV great and effective material aid, thereby making an important contribution to helping the Vietnamese people to surmount tremendous difficulties and creating the necessary preconditions to gradually and successfully resolve the tasks facing the country at the first stage of the transitional period.

The policy of restructuring elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress and the policy of renewal adopted at the 6th CPV Congress have opened up new possibilities for efficient, mutually advantageous, and mutually responsible cooperation. Thanks to the assertion of new thinking, Vietnam and the Soviet Union are fully resolved to switch the old mechanism of Vietnamese-Soviet economic relations from the rails of bureaucratic centralization and undemocratic administration onto the path of the elaboration and introduction of new progressive forms of the international socialist division of labor, the development of production collaboration, economic integration, and the expansion of direct ties between sectors and production enterprises.

There is no doubt, Nguyen Van Linh said in conclusion, that, implementing the provisions of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the SRV and the USSR and the decisions of the 6th CPV Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress, both sides will make every effort to ensure that Vietnamese-Soviet relations develop continuously and that their effectiveness is enhanced. This will make a weighty contribution to the cause of building and defending the two fraternal countries and, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "will make Vietnam and the Soviet Union stronger"—which will

contribute to the development of the trends of the modern age and to the strengthening of peace, friendship, and cooperation between the peoples.

Philippine Foreign Minister Interviewed

LD0511115188 Moscow Television Service in Moscow
1545 GMT 4 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko; interview with Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus in Manila; date not given—recorded in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Ilyashenko] The Soviet people follow with sympathy and great interest the changes that have been taking place over the past 2 and 1/2 years. Naturally, each country has problems of its own. What problems does your country face and how do you intend to resolve them?

[Manglapus] Thank you for what you said about the Soviet people's interest in the events taking place in our country. We are very proud of our 1986 revolution, thanks to which we succeeded in putting a halt, by peaceful means, to the cruel dictatorship of the right wing. Our problems are those of all countries that find themselves at a stage of transition from rightwing dictatorship to constitutional democracy. We are beset by problems created by those of extreme rightwing and extreme leftwing persuasion. However, we are convinced that we will overcome these difficulties. Last year tangible economic growth was recorded. We have not been doing too badly this year and we hope for success next year. We feel that our stability gains more and more in strength. Of course, a great deal depends on the foreign policy course pursued by my country.

[Ilyashenko] What steps are you taking to ensure peace and security for your country and the region as a whole?

[Manglapus] As far as we are concerned, the fact that the Philippines, along with its regional neighbors, are members of ASEAN, is of fundamental significance for us. Our ideas about foreign policy are built on the principles of peace, freedom, and neutrality. This policy is being pursued by us at present and we will continue to pursue it in the future, too. We welcome all the initiatives of our friends and the superpowers which help us adhere to this concept.

[Ilyashenko] In this context I want to ask you what your attitude is to Gorbachev's latest proposals concerning security in Asia and the Pacific Ocean region.

[Manglapus] We in the Philippines, in the Foreign Ministry and in the Government, welcome these proposals and see them as a positive step in the direction of the kind of vision of international relations I have just been talking about. We hope that these proposals will be implemented; that they will lead to talks between the superpowers and that they will yield the same results as

the INF Treaty which represented a landmark in mankind's progress toward peace. Gorbachev's proposal should be implemented. I understand that the superpowers have different points of view on the events in Southeast and East Asia, but in the past, the recent past, the USSR and the United States were able to resolve some differences. I see no reason why differences should not be overcome during future talks.

[Ilyashenko] And now for the last question, on a personal note: it is not often that political figures of your stature are also musicians. We know that Manila's largest theater has now staged your musical comedy. Is it your hobby?

[Manglapus] Music and literature are my hobbies. I wrote both the text and the music for the play. When I was a student I wrote poems, drama, and I went to school where much attention was devoted to classical drama. I see music not just as something that entertains, but also as a means of political expression. I do not write down musical scores—somebody else has to listen to how I play my music and write down the score. Some sort of special reasons prompted me to write plays. During the war I wrote plays against fascism; I wrote a song for my school and it is still sung. I wrote songs for political campaigns, for peasants and the free farmers' federation. I wrote my "Yankee-Punkie" musical comedy during the time of my emigration in the United States. This musical describes the adventures and misadventures of a U.S. visitor to the Philippines. It is a story about the beginning of the relations between the Philippines and the United States. In a word, both music and literature represent the progress of and adherence to my political convictions.

Gorbachev Replies to Australian Children

LD2910163688 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT
29 Oct 88

[Text] Perth October 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Voronin:

Sara Merton, a schoolgirl from this Australian city, is one of many children in West Australia state who addressed letters about peace, the nuclear threat and disarmament to leaders of various countries. The girl's letter was addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Hundreds of other schoolchildren who voiced their concern over the destinies of the world, also sent their messages to him. David Thatcher, 10, wrote that he expressed gratitude for the fact that the USSR eliminates a part of its atomic missiles and other nuclear weapons. He expressed the hope that this would lead to peace all over the world.

Today a ceremony of presenting Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to letters of schoolchildren was held at the headquarters of teachers' trade union of West Australia state. The reply was handed over to children and executives of the union by E.M. Samoteykin, USSR ambassador to Australia.

"Dear friends," reads the message by the Soviet leader, "I thank you for your letter. I saw in them sincerity, frankness, good feelings and lively interest in our country. Your bold and wonderful actions—to change the world through human contacts, mutual relations and to bring people in various countries closer together—deserves support. The Soviet people are firmly committed to the ideas of friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation between nations and are doing their utmost to free mankind from fear for its future. I am sure that an important role in this noble cause belongs to young people. You and your peers in the USSR and other countries will have to build a more secure, just and humane world. You should not spare efforts for the sake of this. I wish you happiness, peace and many a success in implementing your idea."

The letters by Australian schoolchildren and Gorbachev's reply drew much attention from the local mass media. For instance the Perth-based newspaper WEST AUSTRALIAN writes that children's letters make a great contribution to improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and Australia.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Envoy Says USSR To Complete Withdrawal
LD0411170488 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] London November 4 TASS—The Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union adhere steadfastly to the Geneva agreements on political settlement in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the United States, as one of their guarantors, and Pakistan, far from observing these documents, persist in supplying ever more up-to-date weapons to forces fighting against the Afghan Government. This was stated at a press conference in London by Ahmad Sarwar, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Republic of Afghanistan in Great Britain.

The Soviet Union, he stressed, has already withdrawn a half of its armed contingent and will complete the process in keeping with the assumed commitments by February 15th next year. The Afghan Government, in its turn, is creating every condition for the repatriation of refugees from Pakistani territory and for the formation of a coalition government. In the meantime, the Afghan diplomat continued, Pakistan is expanding the opposition's operational area, providing the rebels with the latest armaments, including missiles. The Pakistani authorities are also obstructing the repatriation of Afghan refugees, are fomenting tension along the border.

In other words, they are exploiting the Geneva agreements as a smokescreen for their plans to set up a puppet government in Afghanistan and use this sovereign state as a springboard for attacking other countries, Sarwar said.

Vorontsov Urges New Talks on Afghanistan
LD0511160388 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 5 TASS—A meeting of USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, Yuliy Vorontsov, with members of the commissions for foreign affairs of both chambers of the republic's National Council was held in the building of Afghan parliament today.

Yuliy Vorontsov emphasized that the Soviet foreign policy is not aimed now at achieving some propaganda gains. It is aimed at real and effective arrangements on the vital problems agitating humanity. And life shows that it is precisely the achievement of real results that is the best propaganda.

Vorontsov noted that the elimination of regional military conflicts, above all the conflict on Afghan soil, is one of the cardinal tasks of Soviet diplomacy at the given stage. Progress is already apparent in many directions, but a great deal of difficulties, including the settlement of the Afghan problem, are ahead. Vorontsov pointed to Afghanistan's and the USSR's serious and constructive approach to the observance of the spirit and the letter of the Geneva accords, while it becomes ever more apparent that the other sides, signatories to the accords, do not intend to implement their provisions. Those who talked about their interest in peace on Afghan soil began large-scale supplies of up-to-date weapons to units of the opposition. So there is direct evidence of deception on the part of Pakistan and the USA. This is a very serious blow at the Geneva accords, the blow which almost torpedoes them. The situation which developed should be most closely studied by the world public.

Whereas the Afghan leadership at every level declares for peaceful talks and settlement of the conflict by political means, the other side insists on the continuation of war and considerably stepped up hostilities over the recent month, Vorontsov said. In the opinion of the USSR and the Afghan leadership the time has come for a new international discussion of every aspect of the situation in Afghanistan and around it, as external forces—Pakistan and the USA—are involved. They edge on the opposition to the continuation of the bloodshed. The United Nations secretary-general could play an invaluable role in this discussion. He had made a serious contribution to the ending of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The USSR ambassador emphasized that the deliveries of new long-range powerful weapons to Afghanistan is a measure taken in reply to the intensification of the military operations by the opposition. the protection

against attack is a sovereign right of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, the USSR ambassador said. He noted at the same time that the course at national reconciliation, talks as the sole way of resolving the conflict remains the basis of the Afghan leadership's policy.

Rebel Leader Wants UN Envoy Cordovez Replaced
*LD0511205388 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1450 GMT 5 Nov 88*

[Text] Kabul, 5 Nov (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy reports:

According to reports from Pakistan, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, one of the leaders of the Afghan "diehard" opposition has demanded that Perez de Cuellar, the UN secretary general, should remove Diego Cordovez from his position as personal representative of the UN secretary general for the settlement of the Afghan crisis.

So how has this diplomat, who has gained an honored reputation as "master of compromise" and who is respected in international circles, displeased Hikmatyar? It turns out that Cordovez recently accused the Afghan opposition group particularly the "Peshawar seven," of being unable to achieve unity in their ranks and of constantly acting against any peace initiatives, wherever they might come from.

The personal representative of the UN secretary general was not being untruthful. Quarrels in the "Alliance of Seven" and the lack of a united position on practically all questions is no secret to anyone. The "Alliance's" obstinate position is also well known, first and foremost that of Hikmatyar himself, who sees only one possible alternative for a "settlement" of the Afghan conflict—the violent path of creating a fundamentalist regime in the country. That is why the "seven" consider "illogical" and "impractical" the proposal by Cordovez to set up a transitional government that could put an end to the bloodshed and to engage seriously in the formation of a representative coalition that would actually be able to determine the future state structure of Afghanistan.

The outline put forward by the personal representative of the UN secretary general could have a number of variations and nuances, but for the most part it is attractive precisely because it is aimed at a peaceful and comprehensive untying of the Afghan knot. It also includes the latest proposals of the Kabul government, which is following the same aim of creating a peaceful and neutral Afghanistan. It is also obvious that the attempts by the most extreme elements to remove the PDPA from the process of the general settlement on a political level are unreal and impractical.

The question is: Why must the Afghans continue to kill each other at a time when broad possibilities are opening up to solve thorny questions at the negotiating table without conditions or reservations? This question is now

being asked by more and more people, both inside the country and outside it. And it is only the "seven" who oppose it, along with their henchmen on Afghan soil. The time has come for the Peshawar leaders to also make an unambiguous choice in favor of talks. For, with them or without them, the idea of ending the senseless bloodshed and of establishing peace in Afghanistan sooner or later will find a way.

BAKHTAR Comment on New Missiles Cited
*LD0411195188 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT
4 Nov 88*

[Text] Kabul November 4 TASS—The Afghan Army has received advanced long-range weapons to allow it to wage effective struggle against anti-government armed groups, cut short foreign intervention and defend the country's independence and territorial integrity. It is the legitimate right of the Republic of Afghanistan to have such weapons, BAKHTAR news agency said in its commentary. Immediately after the announcement that the Afghan Army had received the missiles, Washington administration made a racket about that fact trying to foist on the world community its view that the use of that weapon allegedly breached Geneva accords.

However, the USA itself supplies to the armed opposition through Pakistan advanced missiles, which are used by extremists to shell Afghan cities. Over the period since the signing of Geneva accords, more than 500 people were killed in rocket attacks on Kabul alone. The events show that the USA and Pakistan continue to step up their interference in the affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, flagrantly to encroach on the agreement on the political settlement around Afghanistan, the news agency points out.

U.S. Reaction to Afghan Missile Use Viewed
*LD0511025988 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 2056 GMT 4 Nov 88*

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] After the Afghan Army struck a missile blow against bases of antigovernment formations near Nangarhar near Pakistan, an anti-Soviet and anti-Afghan hullabaloo has been raised in Washington. [video shows Redman addressing audience] Redman, a State Department spokesman, addressed journalists. He tried to accuse Kabul of escalating military activities in Afghanistan. He cast in our direction words that one can view as an unconcealed threat: If the use of this weapon represents an attempt to punish Pakistan, they must know in Moscow that Pakistan enjoys our full support. So, this is how it is—extremely frank.

Walters, the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, has also joined in this propaganda campaign. [video shows close-up of Walters speaking] But at the same time in Washington they do not wish to

know that Afghanistan has a lawful right to use modern long-range weapons; they are not for aggression but for halting foreign intervention and defending the country's independence. Having these weapons is an inalienable right of the Afghan Republic.

It is obvious that the hullabaloo around the use of the missiles by the Afghan Army has been raised for the purpose of imposing the opinion on the world community that using these weapons is allegedly contrary to the Geneva agreements. The United States however, is itself supplying the latest missiles to the armed opposition via Pakistan. And the extremists use them to bomb Afghan cities. [video shows soldiers in battle and exercising]

Since the signing of the Geneva documents, in Kabul alone over 500 people have died from missile attacks. Events show that the United States and Pakistan are continuing building up intervention in the affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, rudely trampling on the agreements concerning a political settlement around Afghanistan.

'Serious' Situation in Rebel-Held Konar Province
LD0511160888 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT
5 Nov 88

["Afghanistan—Situation Deteriorates in Konar Province"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul November 5 TASS—According to information being received here, an extremely serious situation is developing in the western province of Konar which recently came under control of armed opposition forces.

All over the province, gangs of rebels rob and plunder. They have unleashed a rule of bloody terror against all persons who had cooperated with the people's government. In the territories inhabited by various tribes, large-scale searches are underway with a view to confiscating weapons received by tribal units from the government bodies.

On the other hand, there are squabbles on a big scale between the various armed opposition groups of different "party" affiliation, squabbles that develop into bloody clashes over the control of regional and rural district centres.

"Party" leaders from Peshawar keep sending in fresh groups of hitmen from Pakistan to exterminate persons earlier appointed "governors" by the local "field" commanders. Two of them have already been killed.

Because of that rule of terror and general destabilization of the situation in the province, over five thousand residents of Konar have already left for Jalalabad in the neighbouring Province of Nangarhar.

They have strongly rejected all calls by the armed opposition to return to their homes saying they cannot live there because of the anarchy and unending plunder and extortions.

TASS Reports on Afghan Army Operations
LD0411130688 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 4 TASS—Prominent Afghan religious leader Mawlawi Nur Muhammad has called upon the armed opposition to stop the fratricidal war.

At a jirgah held in Aibak, Samangan Province, he said that "the holy war against the faithless" that the extremists are harping on is in actual fact the killing of Muslims by Muslims. The war carries to the Afghan people nothing but grief and privations.

Former opponents of people's power continue coming over to the government's side. In Badakhshan Province, an armed group of 100 men laid down arms on their own and declared cessation of hostilities.

Battles between Afghan Army units and opposition units are continuing in a number of areas of the country. Extremists lost 88 men killed and 7 wounded in the districts of Arghandab and Daman (Qandahar Province). Another 25 rebels were killed in the Surubi District [placename as received] (Kabul Province). According to reports from Gardeyz, extremists lost 37 men killed in fighting with governmental troops. Among those killed are an American and a Pakistani military advisers.

A big cache with ammunition, which belonged to rebels, was discovered by security forces in the Pol-e Khomri District, Baghlan Province.

A total of about 170,000 refugees returned to Afghanistan from Pakistan, Iran, and other countries since March this year, the BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

Operations Continue Against Afghan Opposition
LD0511153988 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 5 TASS—Units of the Afghan Army continue operations to eliminate the armed groups of the die-hard opposition.

A total of twenty-seven extremists were killed in Qandahar Province and an arms dump was destroyed near Towk Khotal in the past 24 hours, according to a communique issued by the Army Command.

BAKHTAR news agency reported that 12 extremists were killed in the District of Zarmal in Paktia Province and another 35 in the area of Pashtun Kowt in Faryab Province.

The past week saw fighting in Nangarhar, Herat, Baghlan, Takhar, Paktia, Zabol, Loghar, Parwan and Laghman Provinces. The opposition lost 450 men killed and 160 more wounded. Government troops captured large amounts of arms, including forty-nine surface-to-surface missiles, two missile launchers, seven motor vehicles, grenade launchers and large quantities of ammunition.

About a hundred opposition members renounced fighting against their own people and voluntarily sided with the government.

Another thirty-five youths enlisted in the Afghan army in Badghis Province. The number of volunteers in this province has reached over fifteen thousand men since last March, BAKHTAR agency reported.

Representatives of the Muslim clergy in the Afghan capital expressed unanimous support to President Najibullah's peaceful initiatives during a Friday prayer. In Paktia Province, a jirgah [assembly] of local representatives granted unanimous approval to President Najibullah's proposal to hold talks with the opposition in Mecca, in Saudi Arabia.

In Sarowbi District of Kabul Province, a meeting of local representatives said that talks with the opposition would be a real step toward peace in Afghanistan.

TASS Reports 3 Missiles Fired at Kabul
LD0611070988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0643 GMT 6 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul, 6 Nov (TASS)—This morning extremists from among the diehard Afghan opposition once again shelled Kabul. Three "surface-to-surface" missiles were fired at the capital. There are no reports yet on casualties or damage.

Correspondent on Difficulties of Afghan Convoys
LD0511191988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1457 GMT 5 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; M. Leshchinskiy video report from Afghanistan—recorded]

[Text] Thousands of Soviet soldiers and officers will be performing their service on the soil of Afghanistan in difficult conditions this October holiday period.

[Reporter M. Leshchinskiy] The usual morning formation of a subunit of the provost traffic-control service this time bore the clear imprint of the forthcoming holiday. The commander presented traffic controllers, driver-mechanics, officers, and warrant officers with Republic of Afghanistan medals on each of which are the words, "From the Grateful Afghan People." Over 50,000 of our servicemen who have returned home this year keep such awards among their precious soldiering relics.

But another fate has been prepared for these boys. They will be some of the last to leave Afghanistan. Their duty station, their everyday concern, is the road that stretches from the USSR border to Kabul, or to be more precise, the most difficult section of it: the Salang mountain pass. [video shows military unit on parade in flat area with mountainous backdrop, receiving medals; shots of medals with presentation cases; road winding along the side of a mountain]

Every morning armored patrol vehicles go out to the bends of the road, and traffic controllers take up their posts. Unfortunately, it happens that not all of them return from their combat commitments. Some have fallen victim to avalanches and rockfalls; others have perished fighting off attacks by terrorists on freight convoys and at one-man guard posts, when your only defense against a sniper's bullet or a burst of submachinegun fire from a vehicle rushing past is a steel helmet and a bulletproof vest. [video shows rear view of vehicle proceeding along mountain road; a truck emerging from a tunnel; the roadside gravestone marked "Sergey V. Maltsin, 1965-85;" five trucks proceeding along a road; video switches to Leshchinskiy in conversation with Lieutenant Colonel M.M. Glevich, identified by screen caption]

[Glevich] The situation has been very difficult recently, especially in the southern Salang area with ambushes and the bombardment of our Soviet convoys and armored vehicles follow them individually. But there is a similar situation in the northern Salang area too. You know that the rebels have repeatedly carried out diversions and made attacks on our convoys and single vehicles at the (Tereshkovskiy) turn, and there have been losses.

[Leshchinskiy] So you are having to organize traffic and wage war?

[Glevich] Yes, we'll have to organize traffic and be on war stance to the end. [video shows armored personnel carriers proceeding along mountain roads]

[Leshchinskiy] Yes, the Afghan people should be grateful to these servicemen who work on the roads. Perhaps they are now the only force ensuring the viability of this highly important route for Afghanistan.

Kabul Denies Death Sentences Passed on Foreigners
PM0311142988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Dispatch by own correspondent D. Meshchaninov: "Afghanistan: 'I Am Authorized to Deny...'"]

[Text] Kabul—A briefing for Afghan and foreign journalists has taken place at the Afghan Foreign Ministry. It was held by Abdul Fatakh Vidi [name as transliterated], chief of the Foreign Ministry press department.

"Pakistani radio," A.F. Vidi said to the journalists, "has reported that the death sentence has been passed on two Pakistanis, two Iranians, and one Bangladesh citizen at Pol-e Charki prison, in the environs of Kabul. On instructions from the Afghan Foreign Ministry, I am authorized to totally deny this report."

"I want to stress that foreign subjects arrested on Afghan territory for espionage, subversive, and other antistate activity are liable to punishment in accordance with legislation. But in the years since the Afghan revolution not a single foreigner has been sentenced to death by the republic's supreme court."

Touching on the military-political situation in the country A.F. Vidi reported that armed clashes between the Afghan Army and opposition detachments are continuing in some regions of Afghanistan. As a result of the combat operations carried out in Qandahar, Helmand, and Faryab Provinces, 69 rebels were killed and dozens were wounded and arrested. A large quantity of weapons and ammunition was seized.

In Sar-e Pol district, Jowzjan Province, detachments of the "Islamic society of Afghanistan" consisting of 27 men headed by Fayzulla [name as transliterated] have halted their armed struggle against the government troops. The former oppositionists have decided to join in the process of national conciliation.

Velayati Meeting With Afghan Rebels Protested
PM0611201788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Protest Made"]

[Text] Kabul, 1 Nov—A resolute protest has been made by the Republic of Afghanistan Foreign Ministry regarding anti-Afghan actions by Iranian official authorities. A protest note handed to the Iranian charge d'affaires ad interim in Afghanistan today, BAKHTAR reported, indicates that, according to reliable data and Iranian press reports themselves, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati received in Tehran members of the council of the so-called "Islamic Alliance of the Mujahidin of Afghanistan." During the meeting 'A.A. Velayati expressed a wish for the extremist armed groups to continue the war in Afghanistan with no reduction in activeness.

This action on the part of the Iranian foreign minister, the document points out, fundamentally contravenes the UN Charter, universally accepted norms of international law, and the principles of the Nonaligned Movement and the Islamic Conference Organization and constitutes undisguised interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Paper Views Resumption of Iran-Iraq Negotiations
PM0711154188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy report under rubric "Reports From Abroad": "Iran-Iraq: Talks Resume"]

[Text] Geneva—Direct Iran-Iraq talks have resumed in the Geneva Palais des Nations under the UN aegis.

At the talks, which are being chaired by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, the Iraqi and Iranian sides are represented by Foreign Ministers Tariq 'Aziz and 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

The international observers and commentators who have come to Geneva to cover this event emphasize that, after the 2-month deadlock in the Iran-Iraq talks, there is once again a prospect of the two sides' reaching an agreement on the way to developing the peace process following the cease-fire. But they are drawing attention nevertheless to the fact that the situation remains explosive on the Iran-Iraq front, where, in some places, the combat positions between the two countries' forces are no more than 10 meters apart.

Observers are unanimous in the opinion that the question of withdrawing forces from the combat positions is one of the most immediate, urgent tasks to be resolved at the newly resumed talks. Among the other issues that will inevitably face the participants in the talks are those of Iran and Iraq reaching an agreement on guarantees of safety of navigation in the Persian Gulf and on the exchange of prisoners of war. International observers believe that real preconditions have been created for a successful solution to this last issue. Before the opening of the present round of talks, the UN secretary general had a meeting with Cornelio Sommarugi [name as published], president of the International Red Cross Committee, at which they discussed the question of the conditions for repatriating Iranian and Iraqi prisoners of war.

Assessing the prospects of the Iran-Iraq talks that have now resumed, Perez de Cuellar said on his arrival in Geneva that both participants are showing good will and a desire to speed up a solution to the problem of repatriating prisoners of war. In his opinion, this process should begin by returning home all sick, wounded, and invalidated prisoners and then all the remaining Iraqi and Iranian prisoners of war. In the opinion of the UN secretary general, substantial results at the newly resumed Iran-Iraq talks are a perfectly real possibility, to achieve which he intends to make every effort.

Press Notes Iran, Iraq Stances on Peace Talks
PM0611191588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA "Press Service" report: "Third Round of Peace Talks"]

[Text] The Iran-Iraq talks to settle the conflict between the two countries resumed in Geneva Monday.

Speaking on Tehran radio, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati confirmed that his country's position remains "clear and unchanged." According to him, Iran is prepared to contribute to the success of the peace talks within the framework of the provisions stipulated by UN Security Council Resolution 598. Velayati accused Iraq of attempting to impede progress during the two previous rounds, held in Geneva and New York.

In his turn, Tariq 'Aziz, head of Iraqi diplomacy, said on his arrival in Geneva that Tehran regards the cease-fire only as "a truce" and has failed to grasp "the need to achieve peace." According to 'Aziz, Iraq does not intend to allow Iran to use the question of clearing the riverbed of the Shatt al-Arab as a "trump card" in the forthcoming talks, in an attempt by this means to force Baghdad to make concessions in other areas. The minister spoke in favor of the Shatt al-Arab issue being discussed separately so that it does not hold back progress at the peace talks.

Qatari Special Envoy Visits, Holds Talks

Bessmertnykh Meets Envoy

LD0311173488 Moscow TASS in English 1430 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, met and talked here today with Shaykh Hamad ibn Suhaym Al Thani, special representative of the Government of Qatar. They discussed practical steps pertaining to the implementation of the accord on establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and Qatar. Hamad ibn Suhaym Al Thani is in Moscow on an official visit.

The sides also exchanged views on pressing international and regional issues, specifically regarding efforts to ensure security in the Persian Gulf region and settle the Iran-Iraq conflict.

On the same day, Bessmertnykh gave a luncheon in honour of the high guest from Qatar and the delegation led by him.

WAKH on Bessmertnykh Talks

JN0311162988 Manama WAKH in English 1605 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 3 (GNA)—Qatar's Foreign Undersecretary Shaykh Hamad Ibn Suhaym Al Thani had a round of official talks here today with Soviet First Deputy Premier [title as received] Aleksandr Bessmertnykh covering bilateral relations and international issues of joint interest, including the Middle East issue, the Iraq-Iran war, and Afghanistan.

The Qatari and Soviet sides reviewed and explained their respective countries' point of view on several international issues, namely the Middle East situation, the Iraq-Iran war, the Lebanese crisis, and the problem of Afghanistan.

Shaykh Hamad ibn Suhaym reiterated Qatar's firm stand which supports the achievement of peace in the Middle East through the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, its legitimate and sole representative, including self determination and statehood.

The two countries agreed in their viewpoints that the Palestinian question was the nucleus of the Middle East issue and that an international peace conference attended by all the parties concerned, including the PLO, provided a perfect framework for finding a lasting and just solution to the Palestinian problem.

They also supported the Palestinian uprising in the occupied lands, stressing that the 10-month-old uprising has changed the course of Palestinian action in a more positive manner.

Trade Cooperation Discussed

JN0311202488 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1950 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 3 Nov (WAKH)—Shaykh Hamad ibn Suhaym Al Thani, undersecretary of the Qatari Foreign Ministry, met here today with Yuriy Chumakov, Soviet deputy foreign trade minister. QNA said the two sides exchanged viewpoints on economic and trade cooperation. They also reviewed the possibility of exchanging visits to find the best methods of cooperation in this regard.

The Qatari Foreign Ministry undersecretary arrived in Moscow yesterday on a visit to the USSR.

Shevardnadze Receives Envoy

PM0611184988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received here the same day a special representative of Qatar's Government, Hamad Al Thani, who was in Moscow on an official visit.

Al Thani conveyed a verbal message from the Qatar emir, Khalifah ibn Hamad Al Thani, to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Shevardnadze welcomed the first official visit to the USSR by a high-ranking Qatar representative and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two

countries. He reaffirmed the desire of the Soviet Union to develop friendly relations on the basis of equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, noninterference in each other's affairs, and mutual advantage, and expressed himself in favor of establishing extensive regular Soviet-Qatari contacts in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres.

The special representative of the Qatar Government was informed about the process of renewal currently under way in Soviet society. His attention was drawn to the concept of new political thinking which has been put forward by the Soviet Union and is called upon to restructure the system of international relations and facilitate the settlement of conflict.

In the exchange of views the sides stated the coincidence [sovpadeniye] of positions of the two countries on a broad range of topical international and regional problems.

The USSR and Qatar attached great significance to the Geneva talks aimed at finding a political settlement to the Iran-Iraq conflict, backed the UN secretary general's peace efforts in this field, and would continue to facilitate the consolidation and deepening of the process of negotiations.

The Soviet Union and Qatar showed a proximity of views in discussing the subject of security in the Persian Gulf. Shevardnadze drew attention to the Soviet Union's considerations on turning the region into a zone of security, goodneighborliness, and cooperation.

The interlocutors stressed the need for handling the Middle East problem only through collective efforts on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination.

Both sides displayed interest in broadening interaction in the world arena and noted the importance of coordinating the efforts of all countries with a view to facilitating a further improvement of the world political climate and the settlement of conflict situations.

The talk passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

WAKH on Shevardnadze Meeting

JN0411150088 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1300 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov (WAKH)—Shaykh Hamad ibn Suhaym Al Thani, undersecretary at the Qatari Foreign Ministry, has conveyed a written message from Shaykh Ahmad ibn Sayf Al Thani, Qatari minister of state for foreign affairs, to Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister. The message deals with bilateral relations and includes an invitation to the Soviet foreign minister to visit Doha.

This came during a meeting here today between the Soviet foreign minister and the Qatari Foreign Ministry undersecretary, who concluded a visit to Moscow today.

QNA said that during the meeting, the Soviet foreign minister praised the respect and good reputation the state of Qatar enjoys in the international arena, thanks to the Qatari amir's wise policy. He also expressed satisfaction with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The news agency said that the two sides' views were identical regarding their emphasis on the need to pool international efforts to hold an international conference for peace in the Middle East in order to settle the Palestine question in a manner that would guarantee the Palestinian people's rights. The two sides' views were also in agreement regarding the other issues that were discussed.

The Qatari Foreign Ministry undersecretary, who concluded his visit to Moscow today, began his visit last Wednesday at the invitation of the Soviet Government in the first contact between the two countries on such a level since the establishment of diplomatic relations last August.

Communique Issued on Visit

PM0611190588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed "Soviet-Qatari Communique"]

[Text] From 2 to 4 November 1988 a special envoy of the Qatar Government, H. Al Thani, Qatar undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, was in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Government. He was received by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR foreign affairs minister.

H. Al Thani conveyed greetings from Amir of Qatar Khalifah ibn Hamad Al Thani to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and also best wishes to the friendly Soviet people for progress and well being.

The eminent visitor handed E.A. Shevardnadze a message from Ahmad ibn Sayf Al Thani, Qatar's minister of state for foreign affairs, containing an invitation to visit Doha. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

H. Al Thani had meetings and talks with A.A. Besmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign affairs minister and Yu.N. Chumakov, USSR deputy foreign economic relations minister.

The two sides expressed satisfaction over the establishment on 1 August 1988 of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the State of Qatar, and noted that this step corresponds to the interests of both states' peoples and strengthens positive trends in international affairs. It

was agreed to undertake soon a simultaneous exchange of embassies, which are to be headed by ambassadors with residences in Moscow and Doha, respectively.

The Soviet Union and Qatar announce that relations between them are based upon strict observance of the UN Charter principles, such as complete equality, respect for the peoples sovereignty and freedom of choice, noninterference in internal affairs, nonuse of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The ensuing talks demonstrated the USSR's and Qatar's close stances on today's fundamental issues—nuclear disarmament, stopping the spread of nuclear arms race to outer space, and restructuring interstate relations. The sides remarked that the real state of affairs in today's rapidly changing and interdependent world requires a fundamentally new approach to international affairs—an approach based on the principles of peace and respect for international law, on strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation among peoples.

The USSR and Qatar see a need to ensure the security and freedom of shipping in the Persian Gulf. As they see it, there are now opportunities to create a reliable regional security system through collective efforts and with the UN's active participation and assistance. The mutual conviction was expressed that not only littoral states but also the whole international community would gain if the Persian Gulf is turned into a zone of security, goodneighborliness, and cooperation.

The sides acclaimed the halting of military actions on the Iran-Iraqi front. It was noted that now the main tasks are to eliminate any possibility of a breakdown of talks between Iran and Iraq, to prevent recurrence of the war, and to make progress toward peace irreversible. The sides confirmed their readiness to help speedily implement UN Security Council Resolution 598 and to give all possible support to the UN's efforts in this sphere and its secretary general's mission.

Discussing the Middle East problem the sides noted that it can only be tackled collectively, on a basis that would envisage an Israeli troop withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the Palestinian people exercising their inalienable national rights, including their right to self-determination and creating their own independent state in the context of reliably providing the opportunity for every state and people of this region to live peacefully and safely. In view of the continuing Palestinian people's uprising in the occupied territories, the sides expressed their profound conviction that it is necessary to step up efforts aimed at convening an effective international conference on the Near East, with the participation of the Security Council's permanent members and all sides to the conflict, including the PLO, the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative.

The two sides demanded the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the southern regions of Lebanon, as envisaged by the relevant UN resolutions. They support the preservation of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

The USSR and Qatar stated the necessity for all those involved to strictly observe the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

The two sides expressed their profound satisfaction with the positive results of their talks, which took place in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere, and expressed their common interest in establishing and developing fruitful Soviet-Qatari relations in political, economic, cultural and other spheres.

H. Al Thani expressed his gratitude for the hospitality shown to him and his delegation.

Qatari Special Envoy Departs

LD0411222588 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—A special envoy of Qatar's government, Deputy Foreign Minister Hamad ibn Suhaym Al Thani, left Moscow today upon the completion of his official visit to the Soviet Union.

Moscow Arabic Comments on Visit

LD0411212388 Moscow International Service
in Arabic 1700 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] It is known that the regular and very active Soviet-Arab contacts at the official level are ordinary. The current visit by the special representative of the Qatari Government is a prominent event, as there were no official relations between the two countries until recently. This was not natural, of course, in the current situation in international relations. This unnatural phenomenon was removed this summer when the Soviet Government and the state of Qatar agreed 1 August on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

During the Qatari deputy foreign minister's current visit to Moscow, the practical steps pertaining to the implementation of the agreement were discussed. At the same time, Soviet-Qatari talks and an exchange of views took place on international and regional issues, especially the securing of security in the Gulf region and the settlement of the Iraq-Iran conflict.

Issues of Middle East settlement were also discussed; views on them were identical. The visit gives rise to the hope that bilateral relations will develop actively from now on in the various fields. All the capabilities and scope are there for this purpose. There are no obstacles for the establishment of such relations with Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, the other two GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] members with whom our country does not have yet official relations.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Greets YAR Leader

PM0611194988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium greetings message to Yemen Arab Republic President Salih]

[Text] To His Excellency 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR]

We cordially congratulate you, Mr President, and the people of the YAR on the 60th anniversary of the conclusion of the Soviet-Yemeni Treaty on Friendship and Trade and the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries.

The principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and independence, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs proclaimed in this treaty, the Soviet Union's first with an Arab state, met with broad approval and became a firm foundation for Soviet-Arab relations and thereby strengthened the Arab peoples' positions in their struggle for national liberation and independent development. The spirit of the 1928 treaty, from which the traditionally friendly relations between the Soviet and Yemeni peoples originate, lives on in the 9 October 1984 Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the USSR and the YAR.

We are convinced that the relations between our countries will continue to develop and strengthen for the good of the Soviet and Yemeni peoples and in the interests of establishing universal security and achieving a just and lasting peace in the Near East.

We wish happiness and prosperity to you and, through you, to the friendly YAR people.

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

YAR Leader's Message on Treaty Anniversary

PM0611195588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings message from Yemen Arab Republic President Salih to Soviet leaders on treaty anniversary]

[Text] To His Excellency Dear Friend Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev

To the Soviet leaders

To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

On behalf of the Yemeni people and on my own behalf I am sincerely glad to send you, the leaders of the USSR, and the friendly Soviet people ardent and cordial congratulations on the 60th anniversary of the signing of the first Treaty on Friendship and Trade between our friendly countries. I express our deep satisfaction at the

further development of the relations of friendship and lasting cooperation between our peoples, relations based on mutual respect and the defense of sovereignty and independence.

Our country rates highly the Soviet Union's important and prompt assistance to the Yemeni people in the very first days of the 26 October 1962 revolution, when the forces of reaction united to try to extinguish its fire.

The Soviet people took a step of historic importance for the Yemeni people by siding with them and giving them moral and material support.

The relations and cooperation in various spheres between our countries and peoples became even firmer and more diversified after the signing of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation of 9 October 1984.

We express the profound hope for the further development and strengthening of the warm, friendly relations and deepening of the cooperation between the Yemeni and Soviet peoples in the interests of their well-being and prosperity, peace, and international security.

Profound respects

Colonel 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the Yemen Arab Republic, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and secretary general of the General People's Congress

Military Chiefs See Off Syrian Defense Minister

PM0711152588 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] General M. Talas, member of the Ba'th Party leadership and Syrian deputy prime minister, deputy supreme commander of the Armed Forces, and minister of defense, left Moscow for home on 4 November after an official visit to our country at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

The visitor was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by the following: Army General D.T. Yazov; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and first deputy defense minister; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov and Army General M.I. Sorokin, USSR deputy defense ministers; and Colonel General A.V. Betekhtin, first deputy commander in chief of the Ground Forces.

'I. al-Na'ib, Syrian ambassador to the USSR, and General of Division [divizionnyy general] A.K. [initials as transliterated] al-Muhammad, military attache at the Syrian Embassy in the USSR, were among the send-off party.

The state flags of Syria and the Soviet Union were raised at the airport, an honor guard was formed up on the tarmac, and the two countries' national anthems were played.

Syrian Defense Minister Biosketch

PM3110121988 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "On Visit to the Soviet Union; Corps General Mustafa Talas, Defense Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic"]

[Text] Corps General Mustafa Talas, member of the leadership of the Ba'th Party, deputy prime minister, deputy supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and minister of defense of the Syrian Arab Republic, arrives in Moscow today on an official visit at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

Mustafa Talas was born in 1931. In 1954 he graduated from the general troops college in Syria and in 1966 from the command staff academy.

He has served as commander of an armored platoon, company, battalion, and brigade and commander of the central military district.

In 1968 he was appointed chief of the Syrian Armed Forces General Staff and in 1972 deputy supreme commander in chief and defense minister of Syria.

He is an active member of the Ba'th Party and is a member of its leadership. He is a member of the Syrian Writers Union and the author of a number of military science works and works of fiction.

He has visited the Soviet Union several times as a member of and heading government and military delegations.

Soviet servicemen welcome the Syrian defense minister, whose visit will serve the further consolidation of friendship and cooperation between the armed forces of the Soviet Union and Syria.

Bessmertnykh Receives Syrian Ambassador

LD2610214588 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1840 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Oct (TASS)—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received 'Isam al-Na'ib, Syrian ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. Questions connected with the further development of friendly Soviet-Syrian relations, the situation in the Near East, and the deepening of bilateral cooperation in the international arena were discussed.

Israel Seen Exploiting Lebanese Divisions

PM3110114788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[Yuriy Glukhov article under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Storm Clouds Over Lebanon"]

[Text] The Israeli Air Force has carried out raids on Lebanese cities and population centers 3 times in the last 5 days. The outskirts of the city of Sidon, the Palestinian camps located there, and the Al-Biq'a Valley have been bombed. Civilians, Lebanese and Palestinian, have been the victims of these bandit raids. Tel Aviv has now notched up dozens more dead and wounded.

According to reports, Israeli troops are continuing to mass on the Lebanese border. For the first time after a long gap the puppet "South Lebanon Army" has also been let off its leash and launched an attack east of Sidon on Wednesday. Its operations received active support from Israeli artillery, which shelled the positions of Lebanese national patriotic forces in the regions of the settlements of Kfar Falus and Lib'a. Hundreds of shells also rained down on other settlements in the southern part of the Al-Biq'a Valley.

According to Beirut radio reports, thousands of inhabitants of the south of the country have fled to the capital and other safe regions in Lebanon.

Tel Aviv's actions are reminiscent of the launch of large-scale aggression tied up with ambitions to invade a neighboring country and partition it. There is every justification for this conclusion.

Lebanon has never been so weak or split. State power is paralyzed. The country is without a president. There has been a total failure to hold presidential elections. The reelection of the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies was thwarted. There are two opposing governments in existence. What we have here is the danger of civil war.

Moreover, Lebanon is threatened by the prospect of becoming an arena for inter-Arab conflict. Syria, which is actively pursuing a peace mission in the country, supports the former government led by Salim al-Huss, while Iraq, for example, is helping the interim government of Michel 'Awn, which was created at the very last moment by outgoing President Amin al-Jumayyil, whose mandate expired 23 September. Libyan leader M. al-Qadhafi has also recognized the legitimacy of the 'Awn government. All this naturally only heats up the overall atmosphere in Lebanon. "We are on the brink of a new tragedy comparable to that of the Palestinians, since now, as in 1948, the Arab leaders are showing themselves incapable of recognizing the scale of events," Al-Huss has stated.

I fear that this situation is tempting Israel to exploit the worsening of the Lebanese conflict. Lebanon looks an easy prey. The desire to divert world public attention from the

situation in the occupied Arab territories, where the Palestinian uprising has now been going on for 10 months, is also a motive here. While for the Palestinians the uprising has been a heroic page in their struggle for self-determination and the creation of their own state, for the Israelis it is the latest page in ignominy. Firing on peaceful demonstrations, concentration camps, and curfew are the Israeli practice in attempting to suppress the uprising. A savage and inhumane practice.

Every day we learn of somber new aspects of it. Three foreign correspondents who had informed the world about the Israeli thugs' latest "exploits" have just been expelled from Israel. This involved the operation code-named "Cherri" [name as transliterated], aimed at killing leaders and activists of the Palestinian uprising. The Israeli Army has special subunits operating in the occupied territories which are also called "Cherri" and whose job is to track down and destroy members of the Palestinian resistance movement. So in addition to indiscriminate firing on demonstrators you also have the hunting down of targeted individuals.

I think that the militarist, aggressive urge regarding Lebanon and the occupied territories has become particularly exacerbated on the approach to the Knesset elections, scheduled for 1 November. As is well known, the right-wing Likud bloc headed by Prime Minister Shamir rejects the idea of an international peace conference to promote a Near East settlement and still relies on a policy of diktat. It is out to win points, with no thought for the future.

Washington's stance has also considerably helped rouse Tel Aviv's militarist feelings. Both U.S. presidential candidates are vying, as it were, with each other to encourage Israel. Democrats and Republicans have a common platform here. "As president I will strengthen strategic cooperation with Israel," Dukakis assures. "We will never waver in our support. Israel has won a special place in America's heart," Bush states.

And if the storm clouds of aggression have again thickened over Lebanon, considerable responsibility lies with those who have encouraged and continue to encourage the aggressor. Unfortunately, factors such as the division and lack of unity in Lebanon and in the Arab world are also playing a sorry role in the development of events.

Israeli Communist Leader Interviewed by PRAVDA
PM2710172588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Telephone interview with M. Vilner, general secretary of the Israeli Communist Party, by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Glukhov under the rubric "Our Interviews": "Era of Great Achievements"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] M. Vilner, that prominent figure in the international communist movement and general secretary of the

Israeli Communist Party, is 70 years old. On the eve of his birthday he gave PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Glukhov a telephone interview from Tel Aviv which is published below.

[Vilner] At present I almost don't feel like celebrating my birthday. Together with my Communist comrades and comrades from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality I am very involved in the election campaign to the Knesset. I am seriously worried as to how our country will escape from the vicious circle of war and bloodshed that has continued for 40 years now and when it will cease the occupation that is a misfortune not only for the Palestinian but also for the Israeli people.

So my thoughts and feelings are not associated with my birthday now. Especially since the era in which we live—an era of great achievements—is giving rise to many new ideas and compelling us to analyze our entire life.

Many people now criticize our party and me personally for the fact that we have always sympathized with the Soviet Union. I reject this criticism. It is true that we did not know or believe a great deal. It was difficult to believe in the possibility of tragic negative phenomena under the socialist system. Yet our fundamental solidarity with the Soviet Union was correct. We always sympathized with all positive aspects of socialism. We always saw the USSR as the bastion of peace, the peoples' independence, and socialism.

The revolutionary transformations under way in the Soviet Union and the restructuring, democratization, glasnost, and self-renewal of the socialist system give me new confidence in the strengthening of the cause of peace and socialism.

The present situation in our region is still extremely complex and dangerous. The Israeli occupation of the Arab territories has lasted for more than 21 years now. The policy of Israel's ruling circles has not changed by and large, despite the differences between them. This policy has hitherto impeded the convocation of an international conference to achieve an all-embracing Israeli-Arab settlement.

Promising development trends in the international arena, notably the settlement or the beginning of the settlement of regional conflicts, show that the new political thinking initiated by the Soviet Union is also beginning to infiltrate broad Western political circles. In my opinion, all these new phenomena will help us tackle the concrete process of eliminating the extremely dangerous seat of military tension in the Near East after the Israeli and U.S. elections.

The people's uprising, the "intifadah," begun by the Arab Palestinian people on the occupied territories also helps change the crisis of stagnation in our region. Positive trends in international relations and the "intifadah" are greatly affecting the situation in Israel itself

and are deepening the realization of the need to put an end to the occupation, mutually recognize the rights of both peoples—the Israeli and Palestinian—recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, and recognize this people's right to self-determination and the creation of their own state alongside Israel.

But at present this is not the prevailing trend on the Israeli political map and in the thinking of the Israeli public. At the same time hope has emerged that 1989 will be the year of the start of a peace settlement.

This September we submitted a new peace initiative aimed at paving the way for the convening of an international conference. We proposed that Israel and the PLO recognize one another without preconditions and that both sides participate in an international conference under UN auspices. Our initiative met with a broad response. In the election we are running under the following main slogans: "Two states—Israel and Palestine—for two peoples," "Enough of occupation, enough of War," and "Peace alone ensures security."

Receives Award on Birthday

PM2810134988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Award of the Order of the October Revolution to Comrade Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel Central Committee"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] For services in the struggle for social progress, democracy, peace, and friendship among the peoples, his great contribution to strengthening the fraternal ties between the Communist Party of Israel and the CPSU, and to mark his 70th birthday Comrade Meir Vilner, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel Central Committee, is awarded the Order of the October Revolution.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The Kremlin, Moscow, 21 October 1988

Algerian Leaders Greeted on National Day

PM0611192588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR leadership organs' greetings message to Algerian leaders on national day]

[Text] To Comrade Chadli Bendjedid, secretary general of the National Liberation Front [FLN] and president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

To Comrade Rabah Bitat, president of the People's National Assembly of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

To Comrade Abdelhamid Brahimi, prime minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

We send our cordial congratulations to the FLN Central Committee, the People's National Assembly, the government, and the friendly people of Algeria on the 34th anniversary of the revolution—the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria's national holiday.

Algeria has won high prestige in the international community thanks to its consistent course in support of the cause of peace, security, and disarmament and its constructive efforts aimed at resolving regional conflicts, eliminating colonialism and apartheid, and ensuring the peoples' right to determine their destiny themselves. Your country's weighty contribution to the activity of the United Nations, the Nonaligned Movement, and the OAU and to strengthening the Arab countries' solidarity is well known.

The Soviet Union is convinced that nowadays, when positive new trends in international affairs are becoming established, the role of collaboration among all the world's peace-loving forces for the purpose of radically improving the international situation and moving from suspicion and confrontation to dialogue and equal cooperation is increasing. We attach great significance to the deepening of foreign policy coordination between the USSR and the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria on the basis of the broad coincidence or proximity of our viewpoints on the key problems of the present day.

In expressing satisfaction at the level of bilateral ties achieved in various spheres, we reiterate our desire to continue strengthening the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and Algeria for the good of our countries' peoples and for the sake of peace and progress.

We wish you, Dear Comrades, and all the friendly Algerian people success, happiness, and prosperity.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

USSR Council of Ministers

Tunisian Party Official Advocates Greater Unity

LD0511224688 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Tunis November 5 TASS—Development of democracy, party pluralism, respect of human rights and creation of the legal state—such is the programme of action adopted by the recent congress of Tunisia's ruling party Rassemblement Constitutionnel Democratique.

Abderrhim Zouari, the party's general secretary said this in an interview to a TASS correspondent. The programme, he said, also provides for the use of the socialist principle of distribution in economy.

Tunisia, A. Zouari said, advocates a greater unity of the Arab Maghreb and development of friendly and cooperative relations with all countries of the world.

He supports the idea of making the Mediterranean a zone of peace and goodneighbourliness. The ruling party's general secretary welcomed the improvement of Soviet-American relations.

Abderrhim Zouari expressed his satisfaction at the state of relations between Tunisia and the Soviet Union in political, economic and social fields and stressed the need for their further development.

East Europe

RSFSR To Erect POW Memorial at Katyn
LD0611123488 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 6 Nov 88

[Text] The Soviet Government has decided to build a memorial in Katyn, west of Moscow, at the site where several thousand prisoners of war were buried.

According to a spokesman of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, it will be the first memorial to prisoners of war.

The complex will also be the first of its kind to commemorate the Polish officers who were held in camps together with the Soviet prisoners of war, and who were shot dead together during the offensive of Soviet troops in 1943.

Thatcher Holds Talks With Polish Leaders

Meets Jaruzelski 3 Nov
PM0411123188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "M. Thatcher in Warsaw"]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov—W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Council of State, received British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, who is paying an official visit to Poland, here today. An exchange of opinions took place on questions of the state of relations between the two countries and the prospects for developing them. Touching on the rich traditions of bilateral ties, the sides expressed interest in further developing mutually beneficial cooperation for the sake of both states and peace in Europe.

The main topical problems in the international situation were also the subject of mutual interest. Expressing satisfaction in connection with the recent positive development of East-West relations, W. Jaruzelski and M.

Thatcher concentrated attention on the possibilities for attaining further progress in this sphere and in this context also touched on disarmament problems. The chairman of the Polish Council of State briefed M. Thatcher on the provisions and development of the plan for arms reductions and confidence-building in central Europe put forward by Poland.

In the course of the meeting, great attention was devoted to the future of the European Continent, above all with regard to the changes and transformations under way in both parts. The sides advocated the further constructive development of all aspects of the Helsinki process, stressing the importance of preserving and consolidating the unity and originality in Europe's makeup.

On the same day a meeting took place between M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, and M. Thatcher, head of the British Government, during which they discussed the current status of cooperation and the prospects for developing bilateral relations in various spheres. M. Rakowski stressed the need to step up economic and trade cooperation, notably in the sphere of cooperation and the formation of joint enterprises and the creation of a favorable atmosphere to help normalize Poland's credit-finance relations with the West. M. Rakowski indicated with satisfaction the positive trends in the sphere of cooperation and noted that there are still considerable reserves that must be used. The sides also discussed a number of questions of international life and drew particular attention to the need to strengthen the process of disarmament and cooperation in Europe.

Holds News Conference

LD0511183488 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw November 5 TASS—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher concluded her official visit to Poland on Friday. Talks between president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski and the British prime minister were continued in Warsaw on the last day of her visit. There was an exchange of opinion on matters of bilateral relations, as well as on international problems.

Before her departure from Poland, the British prime minister gave a news conference. Margaret Thatcher said that one of the reasons for her visit to Poland was the striving to take a look at it as regards its perspectives. She emphasized that Poles wish to resolve pressing problems and strive for a better future for themselves and their country.

The head of the British Government noted that relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation had changed over the recent years. She said the transformations taking place in the USSR opened broader

opportunities for other socialist countries. Margaret Thatcher noted the striving of European Economic Community to establish closer ties with Warsaw Treaty countries.

Upon the conclusion of Margaret Thatcher's news conference in Warsaw, Polish Government's spokesman for the press Jerzy Urban met with reporters. He said that the visit of the British prime minister to Poland would be of much importance for the further development of bilateral relations. Rapprochement of the stances of Britain and Poland on a number of questions is a favourable factor not only for the relations between the two countries, but also one more step to bring closer the positions of East and West, Jerzy Urban said. Economic problems comprised one of the most important items of the negotiations. Margaret Thatcher expressed the wish that Poland's reforms be effective and that national accord be achieved.

With regard to the prime minister's pronouncement that Great Britain can give economic assistance to Poland only if it becomes obvious that Poland's reforms are successful Jerzy Urban said that this thesis is nothing new. Over a long period of time, the United States and other Western countries have been constantly advancing various terms as conditions for granting aid, he said.

TV Criticizes Aims of Visit

LD0411234288 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1545 GMT 4 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] Today sees the end of the official visit to the Polish People's Republic by British Prime Minister Thatcher. It is the first visit to Poland by a head of the British Government in history and, quite naturally, it has aroused great interest in Europe.

Thatcher had meetings and talks with Jaruzelski, chairman of the State Council, Premier Rakowski, and Cardinal Glemp.

The British prime minister is a highly inquisitive woman. She is interested in the prices in stores and markets. There is, after all, good reason for this: when you buy things or food itself, you can judge the prices, the level of inflation, and the state of a country's economy in general. And communication with Poles in the street gives one an idea of how they live and what they think.

Speaking at a dinner in her honor, Thatcher said that Britain wants economic and trading ties between the EC countries and the socialist states to expand. We have therefore welcomed, Thatcher said, the bold and courageous reforms undertaken by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, and we sincerely hope he will be successful.

The head of the British Government noted the long-standing tradition of Polish-British contacts in various fields and expressed hope that both sides will manage to restore them in the new climate of today's Europe. At this point, Thatcher reiterated the conditions on which the development of cooperation might take such a direction. What does the head of the British Government mean? Nothing more or less than a change in the internal political life of Poland. So it becomes clear why Thatcher's itinerary included a visit to the Gdansk shipyard, which is to be closed by the government because of its unprofitability, a meeting with Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, and the laying of flowers on the grave of the priest Popieluszko at one of Warsaw's churches.

In the past, the British prime minister has repeatedly delivered sermons about the infringement of human rights in Poland and has lectured the Poles about how they should conduct their internal affairs. Now too, apparently, Thatcher aspires to the role of defender of the interests of the Polish working people and their trade unions, which are, it is claimed, being pressurized by the government.

Krakow Paper on Visit

PM031113188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Nov 88 Morning Edition p5

[Unattributed report under rubric "The Press Testifies": "Private Program in Official Visit"]

[Text] "The forthcoming official visit to Poland by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher will undoubtedly be a major political event—and not only in Europe," the Krakow Voivodship newspaper GAZETA KRAKOWSKA wrote in a signed commentary.

While noting Britain's importance in world affairs, the newspaper also drew attention to the private program included in the British head of government's visit to Poland, which envisages a meeting with L. Walesa, leader of the former "Solidarity" organization, and the laying of flowers at the grave of Father J. Popieluszko at a church in Warsaw.

Touching on the subject of the planned meeting with L. Walesa, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA reminded people that on 19 October British Member of Parliament G. Kaufman, who holds the post of foreign minister in the Labor Party's "Shadow Cabinet," recalled that Britain itself is waging a merciless struggle against trade union freedoms. L. Walesa should feel himself lucky that he is a Polish citizen, because if he were a British trade union leader he would have a very slim chance of meeting Mrs M. Thatcher and could more likely count on a chat with a prosecutor and a spell in premises far from comfortable, the newspaper said ironically. It pointed out that not so long ago M. Thatcher's sermonizing appeared

highly comical, as she tried to force the Polish Government from the "sinful path" of martial law while at the same time strikes by British workers were being cruelly suppressed in her own country.

M. Thatcher's actions in Poland in the role of protector of trade union interests and as a person weeping over the grave of Father J. Popieluszko will carry no conviction.... Father J. Popieluszko, who had been engaged in political activity, was killed by a group of political adventurers, who have been punished for this crime by the Polish court. On 1 March 1981 in a prison near Belfast, a group of young Catholics—members of the Irish Republican Army—began a hunger strike as a sign of protest against the refusal to recognize the status of political prisoners. Ten people then died before the eyes of the whole world, which had called for humanity to be shown. But the government, led by M. Thatcher, remained deaf to the requests of these young people. GAZETA KRAKOWSKA suggested that the head of the Polish Government lay flowers at the graves of the Irish Catholics, for whose deaths no one has been made responsible by any court, when he visits Britain in the future.

In conclusion, the newspaper emphasized that all the above does not mean that the need to improve Polish-British relations is in question. Britain is too important a European state to make it possible to reject attempts to reach an agreement with it, although it should not be an agreement achieved at any price. It should be remembered that politics rarely match sentiments, and it is worth learning to distinguish the outward forms of politicians' conduct from their real aspirations and intentions, not succumbing to the influence of external factors, and seeking rational motives for their actions.

Reader Answered on Roundtable Talks

PM0611194188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by M. Tretyakov under the rubric "We Answer Reader's Letter": "Doors to Dialogue Open"; first three paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] "I read in the newspapers that a roundtable discussion was due to take place in Poland in which all forces in society, including the opposition, would take part.

"Could you please tell us why the roundtable was not held at the intended time and is being postponed?"

"T. Skomorokhina, Moscow"

A roundtable meeting in which representatives of political and public organizations and the broad public, including opposition circles, were to take part was indeed scheduled for 17 October in Poland. The roundtable was intended to examine and reach a rapprochement of positions and a consensus on such key questions as the program of political and socioeconomic reforms

and determination of ways to implement them. Observation of the principles of the Constitution and the state interests of Poland is the sole criterion of participation.

However, the meeting failed to open on the appointed day. A date was then set for 28 October. But on that day too the roundtable seats were empty. What was the problem?

The idea of a roundtable discussion came about this summer, when the country's economic position had deteriorated as a result of mistakes in the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform. The situation worsened after two waves of destructive strikes swept Poland in late April-early May and the beginning of August. The latter caused damage totaling several tens of billion zlotys. The working people's protest against falling living standards, intensifying inflation, high prices, and the impoverishment of the commodity market was exploited by extremist elements from the former "Solidarity" and subversive organizations such as "Fighting Solidarity," the "Confederation for an Independent Poland," and others to stir up antisocialist sentiments and make their presence felt in the country's political life.

The serious economic difficulties have exacerbated the political heterogeneity of Polish society and clearly set apart those forces within it that are influencing the present situation in the country to varying degrees. A large section of society supports the line of socialist renewal and the principle of the coalition exercise of power proclaimed by the PZPR. But there is an opposition which, it is true, is not marked by monolithic unity in the present-day Polish realities. Supporters of the so-called constructive opposition can be identified within it. Its representatives, although disagreeing with certain actions of the country's leadership, do not oppose the state system and operate within the constitutional framework. Part of the Polish intelligentsia, which seeks ways of solving the current problems and offers its own solutions, regards itself as belonging to the constructive opposition. Representatives of the destructive opposition basically belong to the extremist wing of "Solidarity" and banned antisocialist organizations.

Given all the complexity of the situation, the country's leadership proposed that a roundtable discussion be held. The idea of dialogue found a broad response in Polish society. It was supported by the revived Polish trade unions, and the Catholic Church considered it a major opportunity for the future.

In response to the government's desire to start the roundtable talks as quickly as possible, extremist elements recently organized unruly assemblies under "Solidarity" slogans in various cities in the country. The street disorders in Gdansk were particularly alarming. In the opinion of Polish Government Spokesman J. Urban, this demonstration was deliberately organized. It cannot be ruled out, he stressed, that its objective was to ambush

the roundtable talks and provoke similar demonstrations. Hurried attempts are being made to set up illegal "Solidarity" structures in some enterprises.

Serious disagreements as to who should participate in the dialogue arose in late October, on the eve of its commencement. People from Lech Walesa's entourage demanded that J. Kuron and A. Michnik, who are well known for their antisocialist views, take part in the roundtable talks. But their participation in the talks would run counter to the principle of national consensus, which cannot be attained with people of a confrontational disposition who are bent on destabilizing the state.

Despite such actions by the opposition, the Polish leadership has constantly demonstrated its goodwill and desire to achieve national consensus. The bulk of Polish society hopes, a recent PZPR Central Committee Politburo session stressed, that the roundtable talks will start, will be constructive, and will yield positive results in political, economic, and social spheres of life.

PZPR Delegation Studies Agrarian Experience
PM0111105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Second Edition p4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] In line with the plan for CPSU-PZPR ties, a group of members of the PZPR Central Committee was in the Soviet Union 24-29 October, which acquainted itself with the experience of party work in the agricultural sphere under the conditions of the new economic mechanism being introduced.

The Polish comrades had meetings and conversations in the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department and the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. The delegation visited a series of agrarian combines, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes in Moscow Oblast and the Belorussian SSR and was received by V.A. Lepeshkin, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Development of Events in Yugoslavia Viewed
PM0311133988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by TASS correspondent A. Bocharov especially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Yugoslavia: In an Hour of Trials"]

[Text] "Conditions in Yugoslavia," "On the Situation in the SFRY"—articles, reports, and commentaries under such headlines have occupied a marked place in the international sections of many foreign mass media in October. One of my Yugoslav colleagues, indicating the pile of foreign newspapers taking up almost all of his desk, said with some resentment in his voice: "I just can't help thinking that the world has only just found out about our country."

Some people abroad, resorting to various insinuations and cheap speculations, have tried to portray the situation which has actually taken shape in the SFRY as a "struggle for power," "the ripening of conditions for introducing martial law," and "the looming danger of a coup."

Nonetheless—what is happening in Yugoslavia today? The answer to this question should evidently begin with the fact that the serious socioeconomic difficulties which the SFRY encountered in the early eighties have so far not been successfully overcome and moreover, have now been aggravated. The unprecedented inflation, whose level this year passed the 200 percent mark, with its grave social consequences, the heavy burden of the foreign debt, the existence of over 1 million unemployed, the disproportions in the economy—this is a far from complete list of the problems destroying the normal pace of the country's development.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that it is in this period that a process has begun in Yugoslavia of reassessing the entrenched ideas of forms of organizing the state and developing society and seeking ways of improving the Yugoslav model of socialist self-management. An uneven and painful process, because it has not been easy to admit that the principles of self-management remain mostly on paper or in the form of slogans, while rampant bureaucracy "calls the tune."

The years of complex problems led to the emergence of a number of contradictions in other spheres of the life of Yugoslav society. For instance, they arose in the field of interethnic relations. Thus, the situation remains bad in autonomous province of Kosovo, where the local Albanian nationalists and separatists are not ceasing their subversive activity and are exerting pressure on the representatives of other nationalities who have lived in the province since time immemorial, primarily Serbs and Montenegrins, forcing them to leave their homes. The escalation of nationalism has not bypassed other regions of the country: "National" political, cultural, and other programs are appearing and nationalities' "own" interests and "own" concerns are being put to the fore. One sometimes gets the impression that excessive decentralization has divided Yugoslavia, has turned it into a series of independent, isolated islands which have arisen on the "soil" of national egotism.

Using the difficulties of the current times in the country's life, antisocialist elements are trying to climb the political stage, insolently demanding a revision of the foundations of the SFRY federal system and openly attacking the gains of the socialist revolution. Their attacks are also spearheaded against the Yugoslav People's Army and its place and role in the state's political system.

The dynamics of the internal political situation have accelerated the process of seeking avenues for the necessary changes. This process has peaked in 1988, when the

question of urgent reforms in essentially all spheres of social life has been objectively put on the agenda. The LCY conference in May set the goal of investigating the reasons for opportunism and inertia in fulfilling the decisions of the 13th party congress and became graphic evidence of the mounting dissatisfaction in the party and in society over the state of affairs in the country. This forum elaborated a course toward implementing reforms in the economy, the political system, and the SFRY itself. But, as the further development of events showed, the tasks set by the conference are being implemented in practice only extremely slowly.

The pulse of Yugoslavia's political life speeded up markedly when the working people and working class had a say. A "hot political fall" has arrived—that is how the local press has commented on the wave of meetings, gatherings, and strikes which has swept the country, the participants in which have demanded that the party and state leadership immediately resolve the complex problems in the country's development and accelerate the process of transformations and the restoration of order and legality in Kosovo Autonomous Province.

The events in the cities of Novi Sad and Titograd in the first 10 days of October were evidence of the working people's resolute mood. The 150,000-strong meeting on the central square in Novi Sad, the administrative center of Vojvodina Autonomous Province, did not disperse for 24 hours, until the demands of those taking part were satisfied—the collective resignation of the League of Communists of Vojvodina Provincial Committee Presidium and the resignation of other party and state organs in the province. Assessing the situation in Vojvodina, the LCY Central Committee Presidium noted at an extraordinary session that it was deteriorating as a result of obvious, serious weaknesses and errors in the work of the organs of the provincial party organization, bureaucratic methods of activity, the insufficiently self-critical attitude of individual leaders, and disregard of the justified demands and criticism from Communists, working people, and citizens.

Literally the next day after the events in Novi Sad the workers in industrial enterprises and inhabitants of Titograd, Niksic, and other cities of Montenegro went out onto the streets. Here too the demonstrators put forward radical demands, including demands for responsibility to be taken by organs and people to blame for the critical economic and political situation which has taken shape. Nationalistically minded groups seeking to paralyze the activity of state organs and to achieve the unjustified replacement of individual leaders of these organs tried to exploit the meeting in Titograd and the just demands of those taking part, the LCY Central Committee Presidium statement emphasized. That is why, with a view to preventing an adverse development of events, forestalling the violation of public order, and eliminating the threat to citizens' safety, the Titograd

city authorities were obliged to bring in reinforced militia details. Emergency measures were in operation in the capital of Montenegro and its suburbs for 2 weeks after this meeting.

No Yugoslav was left indifferent by the appeal from R. Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, who spoke on radio and television 10 October. The situation in which Yugoslavia has found itself, he said, is indeed grave: Political relations have been aggravated in the country, and people's justified dissatisfaction with the situation in society has found graphic expression in working people's protest meetings. Drawing attention to the fact that recent events in a number of cities are creating a political situation which, if it remains, could lead to emergency conditions, the head of the SFRY pointed to the need to use democratic means to seek a way out of the social crisis in the country.

It was in this situation that the 17th and 18th LCY Central Committee Plenums were convened, which examined the Communists' topical tasks in overcoming the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation in the country.

The plenums took important steps forward toward implementing transformations in the LCY: An LCY Central Committee commission has been created which will engage in preparing them. As S. Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, noted, it is a case of a reform of the party, whose directions were determined at the 13th congress and conference of the LCY. The LCY's "reconstruction" is viewed as an important condition for implementing reforms in the economy and political system.

Major decisions have been made on the question of cadres changes in LCY leading organs. Over the next 18 months it is planned to renew the Central Committee by one-third, expanding the representation in it of workers from the sphere of material production, science, and education. It should not be thought, S. Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, noted at the plenum, that the party of Yugoslav Communists has embarked on a "purge" of its ranks; it is simply that the question of promoting to the front line of the struggle for socialist self-management those Communists who will give all their efforts to the solution of the tasks of vital importance to society and the party has been put on the agenda.

Representatives of the army party organizations took an active part in the plenum's work. NARODNA ARMIIJA wrote that their contribution to the elaboration of the forum's decisions and to the fact that reason, a sober Yugoslav-wide approach toward problems, and an optimistic vision of the forms and ways of overcoming them won out at the plenum was welcomed with approval by the party masses and broad public. The speeches delivered by Colonel General V. Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, Colonel General S. Mirkovic, chief

of General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, Vice Admiral P. Simic, president of the LCY organization committee in the Yugoslav People's Army, and others representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army emphasized that the Communists and personnel of the Armed Forces resolutely support the party's course toward the accelerated implementation of urgent reforms in society and the LCY and the consistent fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th congress and conference of the LCY.

At the LCY Central Committee Plenum representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army resolutely opposed attacks on the army from antisocialist positions and exposed the absurdity of claims about the so-called "putschist" ambitions of the Yugoslav People's Army and attempts to use the barracks walls to isolate the Armed Forces personnel from participation in the country's sociopolitical life. They assured the Yugoslav Communists that the Yugoslav People's Army will continue reliably to stand guard over the gains of socialism and to safeguard the SFRY working people's peaceful labor.

In brief, there are many problems in Yugoslavia today. Do they attest to the ineffectiveness of the system of socialist self-management? Of course not. The main reason for the negative phenomena and processes, as the Yugoslav comrades themselves note, lies in the insufficiently consistent, active, and persistent implementation of the principles of self-management. One of the lessons of the Yugoslav experience is evidently that any concept tolerates no stagnation, that problems arise when its development is slowed down. A complex process of considering what has been achieved, revealing errors and omissions, and seeking new solutions is under way in Yugoslavia. Its results are there: A clearer, deeper, and more realistic understanding of the causes of the serious problems creates a good basis for successfully overcoming them.

Serbian Communists Schedule Conference 21-23 Nov
PM0111150988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Communists' Tasks"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct—The tasks facing Serbian Communists in connection with implementing the socioeconomic reforms designed to overcome the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation in Yugoslavia will be discussed by a conference of the League of Communists of Serbia to be held 21-23 November 1988. This decision was made by a session of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium.

In the opinion of this session, the party conference is to be convened "in an exceptionally complex socioeconomic and political situation." Working people are still being caused particular concern and worry by the situation in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which is part of Serbia where the actions of Albanian nationalists

are becoming "increasingly aggressive and fraught with tragic consequences." Measures are being taken to improve the situation in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, where serious errors and miscalculations have been made as a result of bureaucracy in the work of the provincial party organization and a disregard for citizens' just demands.

The decision has been made to convene a joint session of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium and the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee Presidium 2 November to discuss issues connected with the practical implementation of the resolution adopted by the LCY Central Committee October (1988) Plenum on Kosovo.

The leadership of the Serbian party organization resolved to immediately begin renewing leading cadres in the League of Communists of Serbia, beginning with local party organizations and up to the Central Committee itself.

Hungary Eases Passport Rules for Foreign Travel
PM0111134788 Moscow TRUD in Russian
28 Oct 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "New Passport"]

[Text] A new foreign-travel passport valid for all countries and entitling the holder to spend 90 days abroad has been in operation in Hungary since the start of this year.

It was previously the case that requests for foreign-travel passports could be refused without explanation, and there was no procedure for challenging such "sentences." Now such refusals not only can be challenged, but all citizens are entitled to demand and gain access to any documents relating to them.

The main obstacle to foreign travel by Hungarians is the shortage of convertible currency in Hungary. In order to ease the problem, Hungarian citizens have been given an opportunity to open foreign currency accounts in state banks. At the request of the investors, 75 percent of the funds invested are registered in their name in foreign currency, and 25 percent is paid in forints.

Article Marks Romanian Army Day
PM2810151388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 25 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Colonel Gheorghe Beduva article under rubric "25 October: Romanian Army Day": "Guarding Socialism"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] For the Army, the years of building socialism, particularly since the Ninth RCP Congress, have been a full, unbroken period of modernizing and improving organizational structures and equipping itself with modern combat systems, mainly Romanian-produced. The quality of combat and political training has improved in line with the principles of

national military doctrine. With every year, the Army has strengthened its combat readiness and its ability to cooperate with other forces and defense formations.

I recently had occasion to visit one of the units. At that time the servicemen were at a training camp, preparing for a tactical exercise: a rapid assault crossing of a water obstacle. The success of the exercise was assured—not only by the skillful actions of the infantry but also by the aviation and artillery support. The tactical detachments on the opposite bank had prepared powerful defensive positions in good time, which hampered the actions of the offensive. But the offensive was successful nevertheless. Observing the floating bridge construction personnel and armored launch crews, we saw how elements of collaboration between different forces—without which success in contemporary battle would be impossible—were perfected at different stages in the battle exercise. The tank crews were equally confident during their exercise in conjunction with mountain gunners and helicopters.

Missile crews and communications personnel, artillerymen and intelligence officers, naval personnel and members of the engineering troops, border guards and military topographers are learning to actively resolve their tasks both in collaboration with others and individually. In this respect particular attention in giving combat training tasks is being paid to the individual training of every serviceman. To this end, the material base is being improved and new programs for combat and political training worked out.

The Romanian Army is constantly working to improve the quality of combat and political training in order to be able to act quickly and efficiently to defend our country while simultaneously fulfilling the obligations placed on it as a Warsaw Pact member. Firmly guided by the principles of our foreign policy, our Army makes its own contribution to developing friendship and cooperation with the armies of the Warsaw Pact states and the armies of all socialist countries.

The traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union also influence the nature of ties between our Army and the Soviet Armed Forces. The summit meetings, talks, and accords between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev play a determining role in constantly developing and deepening this cooperation. The talks which took place during the recent official friendly visit to the Soviet Union by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu have had an enormous impact on the further development of all-around ties between our countries and the strengthening of friendship between the Romanian and Soviet peoples.

As they celebrate Romanian Army Day today, the Romanian people pay tribute to the services of our Army, which, together with the other component forces

of our national defense system, vigilantly defends our revolutionary achievements and actively participates in resolving the tasks of building a developed socialist society.

West Europe

Shevardnadze, Spanish Envoy View European Issues
LD0511105588 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, today received Spain's Ambassador to the USSR Jose Cuenca who handed to the Soviet minister a message from King Juan Carlos I to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

During the conversation, the sides expressed interest in onward development of Soviet-Spanish political dialogue, including at summit level, and in expansion of bilateral cooperation in various fields.

Exchanging views on international issues, the sides paid special attention to the problem of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe.

Emphasised was the importance of an early conclusion of the Vienna meeting with weighty results and the beginning, before the end of this year, of talks on reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, and talks on further confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, meaning the closing of the Vienna forum and start of talks with the participation of foreign ministers.

Shevardnadze Receives UK Ambassador Braithwaite
PM0711134388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Talks Held"]

[Text] On 5 November E.A. Shevardnadze received R. Braithwaite, British ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request.

A frank and committed exchange of opinions took place on problems of the further dynamic development of Soviet-British relations and on a number of international issues pertaining above all to the implementation of tasks to ensure the successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE meeting and to strengthen European and global security.

FRG, French Leaders Hold Bonn Consultations
*LD0411182588 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT
4 Nov 88*

[Text] Bonn November 4 TASS—The urgent issues of East-West relations, the state of matters at arms control and disarmament negotiations, and also questions of bilateral cooperation were discussed during the two-day West German-French political consultations at top level which drew to an end in Bonn today. They involved West German President Richard von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, French President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Michel Rocard, and also several ministers of both countries.

The chancellor informed in detail the French president, who will pay an official visit to the USSR late in November, about the results of his recent talks with Soviet leaders in Moscow. Emphasizing the great significance of cooperation between West Germany and France to their relations with the Warsaw Treaty states, the sides agreed closely to coordinate their policies toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the future.

At a news conference devoted to the outcome of the consultations here Kohl and Mitterrand evaluated positively the exchange of views held by them. Judging by their statements, they paid considerable attention to deepening West German-French military cooperation, specifically, to forming a joint brigade and matters pertaining to the ratification of the additional protocol to the 1963 Elysee treaty between Bonn and Paris.

According to press reports, this protocol, which provides for the establishment of a joint defence council, implies that West German and France will be guided by the "nuclear deterrence" strategy. In this connection the Greens Party criticized the course of bolstering the Bonn-Paris military axis, stressing that West Germany and France should take concerted measures for disarmament rather than deepen military cooperation.

There were also meetings of Foreign Ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Roland Dumas, and Defence Ministers Rupert Scholz and Jean-Pierre Chevenement, who discussed questions of the policy of security and disarmament. An official spokesman for the West German Foreign Ministry stated that the ministers gave center stage to the efforts to bring to an early fruition the Vienna followup meeting of the CSCE states.

The West German and French foreign ministers underscored mutual interest in having the talks on a reduction in armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals to be started even this year. They declared for an early elimination of chemical weapons.

Commenting on the consultations, the newspaper NORDWEST-ZEITUNG points out that they demonstrated the eagerness of Bonn and Paris to facilitate

progress in the disarmament and arms control process, and also see to it that the voice of Europe be heard loud and clear in handling important issues within the framework of a broad international dialogue.

Zholkver Views Talks

*LD0511075388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1645 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Konstantin Patsyuk]

[Text] West German-French consultations on the summit level ended in Bonn today. I ask our political observer, Aleksandr Zholkver, to tell us about their results.

[Zholkver] Idle journalists have calculated that the present political consultations in Bonn are already the 52d in the history of FRG-French relations. Yet both sides attached special significance to them this time. This was reflected in the fact that President Mitterrand was accompanied to the FRG capital not only by Prime Minister Rocard, but also by 11 cabinet ministers. On the West German side, President von Weizsaecker and Chancellor Kohl, as well as a large group of ministers took part in the talks.

In the center of the 3-day talks were questions concerning the further development of relations between West and East Europe. What is more, special attention was paid to the activation of contacts at the summit level with the USSR. I remind you that only in the past month Moscow was visited by the head of the Austrian, Italian, and FRG Governments. This month we are expecting a visit from the president of France.

Summit meetings also are being held in other socialist countries of Europe. I will mention only the present visit to Poland by the British prime minister. Last but not least, the level of activity has also increased between the two economic alliances in Europe, the EEC and CEMA, which established official relations last June. At precisely this time talks are being held in Brussels on concluding a trade and economic agreement between the EEC and our country.

All these are undisputably pleasing hallmarks on the path of building our common European home. Yet I think that such construction could have proceeded on a wider scale and at a faster pace. I will point in this connection to at least a few points of the agenda of the present French-West German consultations, which in my view are fully important for all of Europe. In Bonn in particular what was discussed is the construction of fast railway lines connecting France and the FRG, the setting up of joint bodies to ensure safety of nuclear power stations, and other aspects of environmental protection. But would it not be expedient to get socialist countries of Europe to take part in such projects, including our country? It has already been mentioned, for example,

that fast railway lines could cover the territories of the GDR and Poland in order to connect Paris not only with Bonn but also with Berlin, Warsaw, and Moscow. But in order to take up these and similar all-European projects, it is necessary to strengthen mutual trust between European states and find appropriate and extensive material resources. For this, what is necessary is progress in solving disarmament problems in Europe. And one can only welcome the fact that at the present French-West German consultations the desire was confirmed to end successfully the present meeting in Vienna as soon as possible, where a mandate of talks on the subject is being elaborated. One ought to start them as soon as possible—this year, at least.

There will, of course, be many difficulties on the path of constructing the all-European home. The latest meeting in Bonn, however, just as the preceding meeting in Moscow, confirms the topicality and importance of this task which can certainly be resolved if goodwill and the new political thinking are displayed.

Dumas Cited on Franco-Soviet Ties, Arms Talks
PM2710154188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "France-USSR: Useful Dialogue Needed"]

[Text] Paris—"We regard the processes taking place in the Soviet Union as important, and we are following them very closely," French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said in an interview for the newspaper LE FIGARO.

"The changes M.S. Gorbachev is implementing deserve encouragement. The activation of our foreign policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is one of France's priorities."

He noted that all 12 EEC countries advocate the need for a useful dialogue with East European states. R. Dumas stressed that most countries, France included, are in favor of the speediest completion of consultations in Vienna and the commencement of talks on the reduction of conventional armaments this year.

Concerning the international conference on banning the production and storage of chemical weapons, which takes place in Paris 7-11 January 1989, the head of the foreign policy department expressed the hope that it will give an impetus to the talks in Geneva, where the relevant convention is being prepared.

FRG Press Assesses Kohl's Moscow Visit
PM0311143988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent Ye. Grigoryev article: "A Positive Result: The FRG Press on Soviet-West German Relations"]

[Excerpt] Bonn—[Passage omitted] Chancellor Kohl's "week in Moscow" has not been assessed on the basis of public opinion polls yet. But it is expected that they will be chiefly positive.

However, the process of the political evaluation of the talks and contacts which took place there is just beginning. It was probably held up initially by what seemed to me the somewhat one-sided "presentation" of the Moscow visit by the mass media here. The latter reflected the positions, approaches, and views of the FRG in the greatest detail. That is natural. But isn't it also natural these days to expect a more or less full account of one's partner's position? Unfortunately there was clearly less than total glasnost here. The West German press reported with satisfaction, for example, that PRAVDA had published the full text of the chancellor's speech at the reception in the Kremlin. This text also appeared in DIE WELT and was carried almost verbatim in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE. Yet not one of the West German newspapers published the Soviet leader's speech in full. And if anything was quoted it was primarily comments on the so-called "German question" and West Berlin.

At times it seemed that many organs of the mass media were obsessed with those themes. However, that same press has now shown that a sense of reality is by no means alien to it. Returning to the "week in Moscow," serious commentators often speak critically about the West German side's emphasis on some questions. For example, WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE writes: "The statements which Chancellor Kohl made in Moscow on German unity and (West) Berlin were obligatory exercises. Opinions differ as to their advisability. In practice their only result was that General Secretary Gorbachev felt it necessary to set out the Soviet viewpoint, too." Some commentators conclude that in the future it would be advisable to base oneself first and foremost on real facts.

The political range of Soviet-West German dialogue is becoming increasingly evident in the discussion now beginning on the "week in Moscow." It is noted that the problems of disarmament, security, and the building of the European home are central to it. The new political thinking is reaching the Rhine, albeit not without difficulty. The chancellor's visit to Moscow showed, commentators here believe, that the Federal Government has now broadly joined in the East-West dialogue and that the activation of Bonn's Ostpolitik is consonant with the prevailing trends in world and European development, primarily the line of the EEC countries. The existing agreement on a Soviet summit visit to the FRG next year is promising.

H. Kohl's visit was an important event, L. Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg, has stated, and it is now becoming of decisive significance to weave an "unbroken fabric" of relations. Furthermore, this important West German political figure believes that the "constructive element of economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation must coexist with the dialogue on disarmament." H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, believes that with the "gratifying intensification of economic cooperation and the

signing of a large number of agreements," the priority must definitely be given to fundamental political questions: "I have in mind disarmament in particular." Yes, the safeguarding of peace, security, and cooperation are all still on the agenda. Many West Germans were excited about the "Cologne-Volgograd" television linkup. This meeting was an emotional reminder after a number of decades that the past must never be repeated and that our peoples want peaceful and friendly contact.

"In the first phase of detente," Theo Sommer, chief editor of the weekly DIE ZEIT, writes from Moscow, "the FRG settled its particular conflict with the East. In the second phase of detente which is now beginning, the task is far greater: It is to overcome the fundamental conflict between East and West, which has conditioned world politics since 1945. The 'ice has begun to break,' Gorbachev says. Now it is time to plow the virgin fields of East-West policy and strike out for the shores beyond the cold war."

Kohl Visit, European Security Viewed

PM0211144188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov "Military-Political Review": "Logic of New Times"]

[Text] At the end of the first millennium there was a sharp increase in the belief among West European Christians that the end of the world was nigh. Terror-stricken, they left their homes and property to the mercy of fate and, singing ecclesiastical psalms, trudged off into the mountains to seek refuge on the highest peaks from what they saw as the inevitable worldwide flood expected with the coming of the year 1000. The end of the world did not come. The prophets' predictions proved incorrect....

West German readers of DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG-DIE TAT were recently reminded of this story by well-known public figure Emil Karlebach. Of course, it is mere coincidence, he writes, that with the approach of the year 2000 some people have once again fallen to thinking of the inevitability of the world ending soon. But now it is senseless to reckon on sitting out the catastrophe even on very high mountains.

Yet there is no fatal inevitability about universal catastrophe, although the danger of such an outcome is still quite great. In recent years we have witnessed how the world is being restructured on new principles. It has been possible to avert the threat of war by states' common efforts and by implementing the principle of new political thinking. Fruitful Soviet-U.S. dialogue has had an extremely favorable influence on this process. The signing and implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles was the first practical step taken by mankind away from the edge of the nuclear abyss. New steps are in the pipeline.

Europe is by no means destined to take a back seat in resolving mankind's global problems. The all-European process initiated by the Helsinki Act is gaining a second wind. This is occurring owing to the vigorous, frank, and honest dialogue between the leaders of the countries of East and West Europe, the United States, and Canada. The idea of an "all-European home" put forward by the Soviet Union was taken up not only by the public but also by interested political circles and a number of the continent's governments. Of course, mutual security must be the basis for building a new Europe. It was to this question that a great deal of attention was devoted in the course of Federal Chancellor H. Kohl's official visit to our country this week.

The visit was not only an important landmark in Soviet-FRG relations. The press of many of the world's countries noted this. Italy's L'UNITA described the Soviet-FRG meeting as a "milestone," a "crucial meeting," and a "new page in East-West relations."

In the course of the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl questions of the situation in Europe were examined from the viewpoint of the radical restructuring of East-West relations and the modernization of all European politics. The particular significance of conventional arms talks for radically improving the situation on the continent was stressed. In this context it was indicated that the Vienna meeting must be completed most speedily, which would open the way for initiating these talks this year. The importance of progress at the chemical weapons talks was also pointed out.

At the same time the Soviet leader focused attention on the task of further reducing nuclear weapons in Europe and stressed the inadmissibility of any "modernization" and "compensation" for the reductions in intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles via the deployment of new nuclear systems. The Soviet Union proposed working toward the complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons on the continent.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the establishment of official contacts between the two countries' defense ministers. In the course of the visit a number of Soviet-FRG agreements were signed and statements of intent regarding cooperation in specific areas were agreed. In short, the ice has been broken in Soviet-FRG relations, with the promise of a future thaw that will remove the remnants of the "cold war" glaciers from the European Continent.

However, the "cold war" inertia and stereotypes that have still not been eradicated and the inveterate habit among certain Western circles of ascribing aggressive plans to the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states are considerably retarding the all-European process. Very naturally, this habit is extremely convenient for militarists of all stripes. This can be used to justify the gigantic programs for building up the NATO bloc's arms. Attempts are now under way to justify the need to

compensate for the nuclear missiles being eliminated under the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles by referring to the "threat from the East." For instance, according to FRG television, people in the FRG Defense Ministry are elaborating plans to replace the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles with new air-launched missiles. At the same time they are elaborating plans to transfer the Pershings' nuclear warheads to these missiles and to modernized Lance missiles. A leading television reporter pointed out that it may turn out that these warheads, which are to be shipped to the United States, will return to the FRG in a short time.

The routine session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group that has just been held in The Hague (Netherlands) was devoted to plans for modernizing NATO nuclear weapons. The session examined a report which, in particular, contains a proposal to replace nuclear aerial bombs with new "air-to-surface" missiles. These missiles can be used by fighter bombers to hit targets "from a safe distance." Moreover, the report's authors propose replacing the Lance missiles deployed on FRG territory with new longer-range missiles. All this, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE wrote, is deemed necessary "if NATO is going to fill the gap resulting from the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles."

It should be noted that by no means all the members of the North Atlantic bloc adhere to this viewpoint. Speaking at a recent Belgian cabinet session, Belgian National Defense Minister Guy Coeme, for instance, disagreed with the theses of the aforementioned report. In particular, he criticized the overall tone of the report as being "incompatible with the period of detente." It is typical that the session's final document makes no mention of "modernization" or "compensation," although it reaffirms adherence to the NATO strategy of "nuclear deterrence." Disagreements between the supporters and opponents of immediate "modernization" are hidden behind general phrases in the published communique.

The continuing attempts to create so-called "European defenses" hardly accord with the period of detente either. A French-West German brigade has been formed as of the beginning of this month and is virtually being described as a prototype for a "European army." According to West German Greens Party data, this brigade will number 4,200 servicemen and will be "protected by the French nuclear potential." This unit, Bundestag Deputy A. Mechttersheimer warns, will create obstacles to further disarmament in Europe, in both the nuclear and the conventional arms spheres. The creation of a Bonn-Paris military axis, the parliamentarian stressed, could have been understood during the "cold war," but now that positive changes have emerged in the disarmament sphere such a step is quite superfluous.

Speaking this week to professors, teachers, and students at the Armored Troops Military Academy named for R.Ya. Malinovskiy, FRG Defense Minister R. Scholz

tried to convince his audience that NATO is a purely defensive alliance with allegedly inferior might to the Warsaw Pact and that nuclear weapons are almost a panacea, a magical means of preventing war. But how do the real facts square with this claim? For instance, the massive deployment of NATO troops in the course of the "Autumn Forge-88" exercises near the socialist states' borders. Or the fact that even in the current situation the North Atlantic bloc remains committed to the so-called "Rogers plan" adopted by the NATO Military Planning Committee 4 years ago, which in the event of a conflict envisages strikes against the full depth of the Warsaw Pact states' defenses and does not exclude first use of nuclear weapons.

The logic of our times is based on the indisputable fact that war and its weapons can no longer be used to achieve political aims today. War has ceased to be a means of rational policy. The Soviet Union and its allies long ago submitted proposals providing for substantial, equal reductions in nuclear and nonnuclear arms and ultimately for the dismantling of the very material base of aggression. We have now entered a phase where it is necessary to move to concrete decisions.

The latest session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee in Budapest gave new impetus to the all-European process. Topical questions of strengthening European and world peace, reducing armed forces and conventional arms, consolidating positive changes, and asserting the new thinking in international relations as a whole were on the session's agenda. The session adopted a statement on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe. The USSR's readiness expounded in a recent Soviet government statement to take new constructive steps in the interests of preserving and consolidating the ABM Treaty will also serve these aims on a global level.

It is time for us Europeans, M.S. Gorbachev said at a dinner in honor of FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl, to finally behave in accordance with the logic of the new time: We must not prepare for war, intimidate one another, and compete in improving weapons, but engage not merely in preventing war but in learning to create peace. A world where everyone would feel safe and where the very idea of the end of the world—be it biblical or nuclear—would be preposterous and impossible.

Portuguese Party Delegates Study Soviet Media
PM2810165388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party was in the Soviet Union 18-24 October at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, during which it studied

the CPSU's experience of work in restructuring the operation of the Soviet mass media in light of the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The Portuguese comrades had meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, the editorial offices of PRAVDA, the journal KOMMUNIST, and

MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, TASS, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the Board of the NOVOSTI press agency, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law.

During its stay in the Belorussian SSR, the delegation learned about the activity of the republic's press, television, and radio and visited an industrial enterprise.

Political & Social

Great October Socialist Revolution Celebrated

Gorbachev, Others Meet 5 Nov

LD0511150488 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—A celebration meeting of representatives of the working people of Moscow and soldiers of the Moscow Garrison devoted to the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution just started in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The meeting is attended by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev, other Soviet leaders.

Front-ranking workers, innovators of production from enterprises of the Soviet capital, veteran members of the party, war veterans and veteran workers, scientists and workers in the arts, servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy, representatives of the working people of the Moscow region arrived in the Kremlin.

The meeting was opened by member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU Lev Zaykov.

The report "To Tap Constructive Power of Socialism" is delivered by member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Nikolay Slyunkov.

Leadership Lineup at Session

LD0511184988 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian from 1356 to 1456 GMT on 5 November, during its live coverage of the festive session to mark the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, allows for identification of the session's leadership lineup on the podium and in the audience.

The first row of the podium, from left to right: unidentified male, unidentified female, unidentified male, unidentified female, unidentified male, Pukhova, empty seat, Medvedev, Chebrikov, Ligachev, Gorbachev, Zaykov, Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze, Vorotnikov, Yakovlev, Slyunkov, Marchuk, unidentified female, unidentified male, unidentified female, two unidentified males.

The second row: Kamentsev, Gusev, Voronin, Vedernikov, Belousov, Batalin, Murakhovskiy, Pugo, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, Yazov, Baklanov, Maslyukov, Khristoradnov, Voss, Menteshashvili, Shalayev, Mironenko, Manyakin, Mesyats, General Lushev, Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev,

Kulikov, Lizichev, unidentified male, unidentified female, Academician Logunov, unidentified female, empty chair, unidentified male, unidentified female.

Third row: unidentified female, four unidentified males, unidentified female, seven unidentified males, unidentified female, unidentified male, unidentified female, twelve unidentified males, pravda editor afanasyev, five unidentified males, General Maksimov, General Tretyak, Marshal of Aviation Yefimov, unidentified general, unidentified Air Force colonel general, unidentified general, unidentified officer.

A view of the audience shows Yeltsin, quite prominently, at the bottom right-hand corner of the screen. Others recognized in the audience are Dobrynin and Mrs. Dobrynina; Fleet Admiral Sorokin; writer Chakovskiy; Orlov; former Defense Minister and Marshal of the Soviet Union Sokolov, General Gribkov; Fleet Admiral Smirnov; and Gromyko and Solomentsev sitting side by side.

Slyunkov Addresses Session

PM0711131588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1 and 2

[Unattributed report: "Unleashing the Creative Forces of Socialism. Report by N.N. Slyunkov at the Festive Session To Mark the 71st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 5 November 1988"]

[Text] Comrades, we are marking today the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The celebration of the October Revolution is on each occasion not just a festival but also a critical analysis of what has been accomplished and what still has to be accomplished to implement the ideals that in 1917 raised working-class Russia to the struggle for socialism. The October Revolution crowned the quests by many generations of thinkers and fighters for freedom, equality, and justice and was the embodiment of everything conscious, honorable, and humane in the liberation movement of the proletariat and its striving for a better future and a communist organization of society.

The October Revolution did away with the exploitation of the individual, gave him confidence in the future and an opportunity to work for himself and for the whole of society, and established as the norms of human society free labor, people's rule, social justice, and equal rights among nationalities.

The October Revolution has gone down in history as the starting point for the social creativity of the working masses. Their revolutionary gains and achievements in socialist construction confirmed the strength of Marxist-Leninist teaching and showed its invariable importance in the activities of the party. Revolution, socialism and the party are firmly and forever interwoven in the destinies of our people. Everything that we have created

and that Soviet people are rightly proud of is developing on a socialist basis. Socialism and its values have become an inalienable, influential, and integral part of world civilization in the 20th century.

Revolution, Lenin wrote, is a wise, difficult, and complex science. Through restructuring, which is continuing the cause of the October Revolution, we continue to master this science ever more deeply. Many of our views are changing and being given greater precision. It is necessary to interpret past experience again and again, and among the conclusions that we are reaching, one of the most important is the conclusion regarding the tremendous creative strength of socialism. Restructuring is proof of its viability and confirmation of its inexhaustible potential.

Restructuring has only just begun, but it has already inspired socialism with fresh energy. The labor and civil activity of Soviet people is mounting. Like the October Revolution in its time, our restructuring has rivetted the attention of the entire world, and the international authority of the Soviet Union has increased.

Every sharp turn in social development entails the surmounting of considerable difficulties. During revolutionary periods, a Leninist party particularly needs, as historical experience shows, a precise program of action, political will, and the broadest popular support. The bolsheviks had this in 1917, and they triumphed. The CPSU has it today. [applause]

Comrades, the idea of using the gigantic potential of socialism and its fundamental advantages to the fullest constitutes the foundation of the party's April course, consolidated and developed by its 27th Congress and the 19th Conference. This line embodies in practice the Leninist vision of socialism as the society of the working people—a system in which economics and politics, science and culture take on a truly human dimension. Restructuring must reveal the genuinely humanistic nature of Soviet society, eliminate the authoritarian-bureaucratic and technocratic distortions, and uphold the primacy of the human being. The party has done much for the objective interpretation of the history and theory of socialism, and the creative mastering of the Leninist legacy.

A profound evaluation both of the undisputed successes of socialism and of the deformations that were allowed to occur is contained in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report devoted to the 70th anniversary of October. The conclusions from that scientific analysis provide in practice a clear understanding of the continuity that organically link restructuring with the October Revolution, as well as a clear-cut vision of our prospects and tasks. In the Leninist understanding, socialism consists primarily of involving the working people in directing the means of production, in exercising political power, and in social creativity. Economic and political reforms and the renewal of ideology actually create the mechanisms that

will enable the working people to truly take possession of the totality of their rights in all areas of public life. Restructuring has roused and set in motion the people as a whole and, this, comrades, is its indisputable achievement. Economic management methods and new forms of economic relations are eliminating people's alienation from public property and imbuing production activity with new incentives. The variety of specific forms of implementing socialist ownership gives each person the opportunity of finding a worthy application for his strength in socially useful labor, taking into account his personal interests, knowledge, and qualifications. The most important thing we must do is to tear out the roots that feed indifference to labor, social dependence upon others, passivity, and mismanagement and to eradicate the psychological attitude of the day-worker. Today, as never before, we also have need of strict discipline. Not, however, the discipline of the fist but a committed, aware, and democratic discipline. Not fear but interest, economic incentive, and civic conscience must become the motives prompting one to work and pursue any socially useful activity. It is, therefore, very important to form new attitudes toward labor and establish each person's obligations in this regard. Only by common effort can order and discipline be achieved. This is why democratization and glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, and all-embracing control by the people are so essential to us. Such democratic control must penetrate all links in production and public life from top to bottom, reach every collective and every production unit.

Reform of the political system and the creation of a law-governed state are opening up a broad expanse for social creativity. It is a case of ridding ourselves resolutely from the accumulated bureaucratic layers and of the removal of everything that has shackled, in one way or another, the implementation of the rights and duties of the Soviet citizen. October gave us an historically new form of state power, the Soviets. The role they played in the revolution and in the establishment of socialism bears incontrovertible witness to their capacity for being the most effective weapon of popular power [narodovlastiya]. The restoration of this quality of the Soviets and developing it as applicable to contemporary conditions is one of the central tasks of political reform. The planned changes will permit a sharp increase in the scope of the Soviets' powers and potential and a rise in their significance as the exponent of the will of the working people.

The reform includes measures which democratically guarantee electors the right to elect and monitor the work of the deputies and give the deputies the right to represent the interests of the electors and to decide all the basic issues of state life. It is this very point that lies at the basis of the draft law on the election of people's deputies of the USSR and amendments to the constitution, put forward for discussion by the entire people.

In conditions of restructuring, the vanguard role of the CPSU as guarantor of the renewal of society is increasing. It may be stated firmly that the party is capable of

ensuring success. The Soviet people approve and support its ideas and actions. [applause]

The great prestige of the Leninist Party has been won by generations of Bolsheviks by their self-sacrifice and heroism in the struggle for Soviet power, on the building sites of the 5-year plans, and on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. In the most complicated periods of our history, millions of workers saw that Communists were sharing with them misfortunes and deprivations, and were doing everything to preserve the honor and dignity of the party and its Leninist moral-political foundations. The party is increasing its prestige through its initiative and resolution in bringing about a scientifically founded program of revolutionary transformations, through self-criticism, through a responsible attitude toward the political leadership, and through its knowledge of how to work among the masses, of how to convince them and lead them. Under its leadership, work has been carried out which is unprecedented in its profundity and novelty. An atmosphere has been created, in which the ideas of restructuring and social-economic acceleration are setting the tone. The 19th conference was a very major event in the life of the country and party. It was held in a spirit of constructive discussion of freely comparing points of view and opinions. It was characteristic that the party first applied the radical political reform to itself by changing the style and methods of its own work and elevating the role and significance of elective organs. The reorganization of the party apparatus is proceeding. In its functions, structure, and level of competence, it must fully match up to the tasks of restructuring and the political character of the activity of the CPSU. Continuing the policy of drawing a dividing line between the functions of the party and other sections of the political system will allow the vanguard role of the CPSU to be ensured even more energetically, the sovereignty of the Soviets to be increased and the initiative of public organizations to be developed.

It is primarily a matter of Soviet trade unions, and the Lenin Komsomol, whose 70th anniversary was celebrated by the whole country together with the younger generation. Comrades, restructuring is a transition to a qualitatively new state of society. Connected with it in an objectively determined way are calculations that there will be more socialism, that the might of our homeland will grow, and that the life of Soviet people will be richer materially and more varied spiritually. In some places, some people in the West are hoping, in vain, that the radical transformations will go beyond the scope of socialism. The socialist choice of our people is final and irrevocable. It was made by October, and is not open to review. [applause]

We are seeking the resolution of all problems along the avenues of socialism. The party firmly insists that our economy and democracy should bear a socialist character. The cleansing work of restructuring is actually directed towards liberating the motive forces of society and its socialist potential, and removing all obstacles to

the expression of the people's will and the interests of the individual. Serious steps have already been taken in the formation of a law-governed state, and in the creation of possibilities for the free expression of the diverse interests represented in Soviet society. That is how it will continue to be. But it must be recognized that democratization and the processes connected with it are by no means without problems. In conditions of socialist pluralism of opinions, every social movement, every group or association of citizens acting within the scope of the law, has the right to express and defend its positions. The CPSU endorses discussion, and is ready for a comparison of views. But it sees its duty as lying in these processes leading to the strengthening and enrichment of the socialist buttresses and principles of Soviet society. We are living and acting in such conditions when cliches, schemata, and stereotypes formed long ago are being rejected, when a fresh, unprejudiced view is required on many customary things and phenomena, when life is putting forward fundamentally new problems which cannot be resolved by analogy or by the old methods. This applies to the socioeconomic, the political, and the spiritual and cultural spheres. And the party's entire activity is designed to set the people thinking creatively and to arouse its creative energy.

Today we all need to learn democracy. This applies to the higher echelons of power, to each collective, and to each person. The lack of democratic standards is one of the serious braking factors.

Democracy is, of course, unthinkable without discussion and clashes of views. But they are fruitful only on condition that legality and democratic norms are observed; that there is mutual respect; a wish to understand all arguments; and a desire to bring to light a balance of interests. In this way alone, on the basis of many views and proposals, can a correct solution be found and adopted.

The friendship among the equal peoples of the land of the Soviets is among the outstanding gains of the October Revolution and socialism. It is a sacred cause, one which we will protect and enhance. [applause]

The nationalities policy is an inalienable part of restructuring. It touches on one of the most delicate spheres of our country's public life. We, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, must show the utmost attention and tact in everything that concerns people's national interests or national feelings, and ensure the most vigorous participation of the working people and of all nations and ethnic groups in resolving the diverse tasks of life of our multinational society.

Guided by Lenin's principles, the party proceeds from the fact that interethnic relations cannot be ossified. They are in a constant state of flux. At present we see the consequences of regarding with disdain the problems that arise in the course of their development.

The CPSU is conscious of the necessity for new, deeply-thought-out solutions which would make it possible to overcome the difficulties and contradictions that arise in the sphere of national relations.

It is clear that internationalism, as one of the foundations of the socialist social system, remains steadfast in the approach to these problems. The path towards consolidating the fraternal cohesion between nations and ethnic groups lead through the free development of each of them.

At the same time, many people will gain much more in achieving their interests if they take a more active part in the joint work to renew socialism.

A growing contribution to the task of socialist renewal should be made by scientific and educational workers, and literary and artistic figures. Long years of routine, conventionalism, and administration by injunction have created a breeding-ground for artistic mediocrity, indulgence in petty projects, and a lack of controversy. The party considers it essential for spiritual potential to be fully unfolded and for it to assist the theory and practice of scientific socialism and the all-round development of the individual. The mass media play a great and responsible role in covering events in social life and party policy. In the field of culture too, complex and at times contradictory processes are taking place, reflecting both the inheritance of former years and the difficult quest for new ways of enriching Soviet society's spiritual world.

Experience in restructuring has shown that discussions and debates enliven public opinion, but can only become a creative force if they are underpinned by action and practical solution of pressing problems.

Comrades, in the years since the October Revolution we have succeeded in creating a mighty production base, in activating our gigantic material and human resources, and in changing the face of the country all the way to its outermost limits. Now, underpinned by what has already been achieved, we have to properly open up the advantages of socialism in that decisive sphere of human activity—the economy. The party has launched a sharp and fundamental critique of the state of the economy and of its flaws, shortcomings, and miscalculations.

Their roots lie not in the foundations of our economic system, but in various kinds of distortions and deformations committed during the years of the personality cult and stagnation. The transition to the profound intensification of production and to the latest technologies was dragged out, the structure of the national economy was preserved in a form which evolved long ago, and obsolete reference points in the development of productive forces became interwoven with stagnation of production relations and the political infrastructure. A negative impact was also made by the elevation of the state form of

socialist ownership to an absolute value, and by underestimation of the possibilities of socialist commodity-money relations, which were not properly developed. Methods of administration by pressure were prevalent in management and planning, and the link between production and consumption began to disappear. A dogmatic approach to the real processes and the absence of genuine glasnost ruled out the possibility of assessing the state of affairs correctly and of combating the spreading negative phenomena.

This, a country with vast resources and qualified personnel, began to lag behind. The party adopted a policy not simply of eliminating individual shortcomings but of renewing in a revolutionary manner the whole economic system. We began to introduce qualitative transformations, both in the sphere of production relations and in the productive forces. We made the cornerstone of our new economic policy the interlinked aims of really uniting production with the scientific-technical revolution and directing it to resolving social tasks.

The economic mechanism is changing radically. The impersonal nature of socialist property is beginning to disappear into the past. Democratization in production is growing deeper. The economic role of Soviets and other territorial bodies is increasing. In this way millions of people are being given a direct interest in the changes being implemented.

In the sphere of distributional relations new approaches are called upon to play an important role: the consistent elimination of excessive wage-levelling and living at others' expense, the rigorous observance of the principle of social justice, and equal pay for equal work. Under socialism there should be no unearned money. This is a legal and moral norm for life in our society and it is obligatory for everyone.

Comrades, the first results of the development of the national economy in conditions of restructuring confirm the correctness of the course that has been chosen. The dynamics of public sector production are increasingly determined by intensive factors. The national income is growing faster this year than it did last year. And all of the increase in it is accounted for by increased labor productivity. The technical modernization of production has proceeded more energetically. There has been an acceleration in the renewal of products in machine-building. There has been a noticeable progress in lowering material content and costs.

Nonetheless, the party considers that our economy is still under the influence of the deformations of former years. In a number of areas the negative tendencies have even intensified. Acute concern is aroused by the fact that state expenditure is continuing to rise more rapidly than income. One scarcely needs to demonstrate the serious consequences to which this could lead. The difficulty and scale of urgent problems are such that much work must be done to resolve them. The chief current task is to

transfer the center of gravity of the work of party, soviet, state, and economic cadres onto the plane of practical deeds and, by relying on the creative initiative of the masses, to seek to achieve real results more quickly.

The success of restructuring and the achievement of concrete changes depend on the extent to which the working people themselves are actively involved in managing all areas of public life. But wherever democratic methods are still undervalued, wherever new forms of labor relations are ignored, and wherever criticism and glasnost are feared, these are the places where healthy processes come to a halt, discipline and organization remain at a low level, and sluggishness and routine are slow in being overcome. The development of democracy is, therefore, a vital concern of all our cadres. The present time is a time for action, and urgent social questions feature prominently here.

The most acute of them is the food question. In order to fundamentally resolve it, major changes in agrarian policy are required. It is a matter of the widespread use of new economic management methods, especially leasing, the assimilation of intensive technologies, the social reconstruction of the countryside, and, finally, the improvement of the structure of the agro-industrial complex and, primarily, the accelerated development of its processing sectors.

Another big problem is providing the population with goods and services. Work here is being intensified. The production of consumer goods by sectors of light industry is being expanded substantially. The sphere of consumer services is being invigorated. All other branches of the national economy have been drawn in toward accomplishing these tasks. The resources have been made available. Conditions are being created so that, before the end of 1990, the population will receive high-quality goods to the value of R24 billion more than was indicated in the 5-year plan.

The housing problem remains acute. The state has opted to increase allocations for housing at the expense of production facilities. Additional funds from the income of enterprises and local budgets are being channelled into housing construction. Individual and cooperative building is being expanded. Every year, 11 million people improve their housing conditions. Before the end of this year, 2.3 million apartments will be commissioned, which is almost 300,000 more than the annual average for the 11th 5-year plan period. According to the plan for next year, the scale of housing construction will increase.

Attention is still centered also on matters relating to full and efficient employment, the qualitative improvement of medical care, public education, and the improvement of pension provision.

A key factor of restructuring is the radical economic reform, whose basic principles were elaborated by the June 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Its

starting point is a broadening of the self-reliance of associations and enterprises and their transfer to full financial autonomy. It is precisely through financial autonomy that one combines various interests—production and consumption, and democracy and centralism—and the management of planning and market principles in the economy.

We are now creating an integral system of planning and management and are making adjustments to the new economic mechanism. The transition beginning in 1989 of all production enterprises and associations to full financial autonomy in accordance with the Law on State Enterprise will complete the preparatory stage of the economic reform. In order to enter the 13th 5-Year Plan period with a well-adjusted mechanism it is necessary to achieve a qualitatively new stage in planning and incentives, in the whole complex of monetary and commodity relations, the forms and systems of labor payments, and organizational structures, and to solve other problems regarding the transitional period. All of this must be directly linked with the democratization of the political system.

It is particularly important to bring the new principles of economic management to all labor collectives, teams and sections and to each work station. It is precisely through a deepening of financial autonomy that there is an increase in the creative activity of labor collectives and in their interest in and responsibility for the results of their work.

The initiative of the working people is producing new forms of financial autonomy, including leasing. Experience testifies to the fact that leasing is a strong lever for raising efficiency not only in the agroindustrial complex but also in all spheres of the national economy. In short, broad opportunities for choosing thrift-conscious forms of management are now open for each production collective.

The first steps have been taken in reorganizing the structure of management of the national economy. A proportion of the ministries and departments of the USSR, the union republics and the autonomous republics have been abolished. The central and local apparatus is being reduced by 40 percent. However the multiplicity of management levels narrow departmental approaches, and preoccupation with minor operational matters have not yet been eliminated. Administration by injunction, and bureaucratic and command methods are still prevalent in the style of work. Many factors slowing things down here have still not been removed.

The task of democratizing planning has arisen in full measure. Local soviets and working people's collectives, scientists and specialists have to be involved more boldly in the preparation of socioeconomic and scientific and technical programs and plans. Such problems as food supplies, energy, housing, ecology, and many others touch on the interests of all Soviet people and have to be

addressed with the participation of the public. There must be no delay in creating a full-fledged socialist market as one of the essential forms of public accounting and control over guaging labor and consumption, as a factor in running the economy efficiently. This also presupposes the development of wholesale trade in the means of production, the restructuring of the financial and credit system, and the financial improvement of the economy in general.

Price reform has become an urgent need, and it has to be carefully prepared. Changes to prices have to be based on objective conditions. It is a matter of an economically substantiated calculation of socially necessary expenditures in labor, of the qualities of consumer goods, of the interests of stimulating scientific and technical progress, and guaranteeing an effective structure for the national economy.

New approaches to territorial management are being elaborated. We wish to strengthen the economic independence of regions and to make use of elements of financial autonomy in territorial management, to increase the interest that republics, krays, and oblasts have in the results of the economic activity of all the enterprises and organizations located on their territory. At the same time, the development of the material base of the territory will be closely linked with satisfying the population's demands for consumer goods, and in the sphere of health, culture, education, and services.

Of course, regional financial autonomy has nothing in common with national territorial isolation, with the renunciation of the development of the country's economy as a unified complex. Democratic centralism, in its Leninist meaning, remains the unshakeable principle of the management of the national economy. [applause]

One of the characteristic features of restructuring is the regeneration of diverse forms of cooperatives and individual labor activity. Enhancement of economic and social efficiency can only be guaranteed through profound, revolutionary changes in the material and technical base of society.

The party has set the task of equipping within a very short time the national economy with high-productivity technology of world standard, to assimilate the most progressive resource-saving technology, and on this basis radically to restructure the national economy. Work has begun on priority aspects such as electronization and automation of production, progressive construction materials, biotechnology and qualitatively new sources of energy.

An effective mechanism of directing scientific and technical progress is being created. Our own and world experience demonstrate that what is needed is a combination of centralized special-purpose programming of priority directions, with broad initiative from below. Competitiveness must be more boldly developed, the

principles of competition must be introduced, and economic competition must be expanded. Both major associations and small enterprises, including cooperative enterprises, could participate in this. It is necessary to more rapidly finish forming such economic conditions as would give enterprises a vital interest in new machinery and technology and encourage them to more rapidly renew production and raise it to world standard. The state of the economy demands energetic and coordinated actions.

The USSR Supreme Soviet the other day examined and ratified the 1989 plan. The tasks of the fourth year of the 5-year plan are intensive in many indices. All the prerequisites for improving the life of the Soviet people exist in the plan for next year. It is important to bolster them with initiatives from below, to increase labor activity and discipline, and genuinely to set in motion financial autonomy and socialist competition. One must not forget for an instant that the economy is the first principle of social transformation; and that highly productive labor is the sole basis for increasing the national well-being.

Comrades, the revolutionary changes in the country have demanded new approaches in international policy. Our foreign policy is being vigorously renewed, creatively implementing the ideas of great Lenin. The principle he put forward of peaceful co-existence and cooperation between states of differing systems is acquiring increasing recognition and becoming embodied to an increasing degree as the universal norm of international relations. The Leninist idea of the priority of universal human interests is being put into practice.

We well recall that at various stages of our history the international affairs of the Soviet state took far from identical shapes. There were times of grievous wars and acute confrontations, when the destiny of the country, and sometimes of the world as well, hung literally by a thread.

There were decades of threats and crude pressure against us and on our allies. There were also periods of relaxation of tension.

The strength of the USSR's international situation was ensured by combining such diverse factors as a high defense capability based on the very latest achievements of military science and technology, the strong industrial-technological foundation of the Soviet economy, the unity of the Soviet people and its devotion to the ideals of the defense of the fatherland and socialism.

Our foreign policy course also played an active role in defense of peace. Looking back, we can state firmly that Soviet foreign policy has made a tangible contribution to preventing aggression against the USSR and to creating conditions which have enabled the Soviet people to live in peace, without war, for almost half a century now. [applause]

The change by many countries and peoples to the path opened by the Great October Revolution, the strengthening of the might and influence of world socialism, the strategic parity with the United States which we achieved at the cost of considerable efforts, all this has ensured the preconditions for the situation in which even the most irreconcilable enemies of socialism had to reassess the realities of the nuclear age.

The April renewal began the new thinking in our foreign policy and required its cardinal restructuring. And this is one of the components of growing international significance of our internal restructuring. Connected with it are progressive changes in the world arena.

Cooperation with the socialist countries is being renewed. To universal satisfaction our relations with the PRC are improving.

The CPSU's ties with communist and workers' parties, social-democratic and other progressive parties, organizations, and movements are taking on a modern content with great prospects. Cooperation with many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is rising to a higher level. Soviet-Indian relations have become an important factor of present-day international development.

The Soviet-U.S. dialogue, in which an element of constructive continuity has appeared for the first time, is deepening.

The USSR's ties with the Western European states have been improved appreciably. On the agenda is the establishment of working relations with the European Economic Community within the framework of the mutual recognition of the CEMA and the EEC. Objectively, Europe has become ready for the joint construction of the common European home in order for East and West to meet one another halfway here proceeding from mutual interests and without attempts to erode the borders of sovereign states.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke in Krasnoyarsk recently, putting forward fresh initiatives on developing cooperation with the states of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region. These contain proposals that are aimed at improving the whole of international life in this vast area of the world. These initiatives met with a response both among the public and in political circles.

Many acute problems have become the subject of dialogue and negotiations, and the conditions for seeking mutually-acceptable solutions are improving. The threat of war has been pushed aside. Real nuclear disarmament has been begun. The participants in the East-West dialogue have started resolving in earnest such cardinal issues as the 50-percent cut in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States under conditions whereby the ABM Treaty is observed; the

banning and elimination of chemical weapons; and the limitation and then cessation of nuclear tests. Major mutual cuts in conventional weapons, first and foremost in Europe, are next in line.

The new approaches have marked the beginning of political settlement of regional conflicts. The Geneva accords on Afghanistan were of crucial significance. Consistent and honest observance of these is of fundamental importance for the development of the entire international situation. Violations of the obligations under these accords has already led to wholly unjustified casualties and destruction in Afghanistan, and is fraught with serious consequences.

One can state that as a result of the new foreign policy course, the international position of the Soviet Union has improved. Trust in our country and our policy is growing stronger. And this in turn ensures more propitious foreign policy conditions for the successful implementation of the tasks of restructuring.

Relations with the socialist countries remain a priority sphere of Soviet foreign policy. Together with the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist states are the pioneers of a new life. We are struggling together for a secure and reliable peace. Within the framework of the community of fraternal countries, multilateral and bilateral cooperation is gaining in strength. This is borne out by the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states which was held in the Polish capital, and by the CEMA session in Prague.

Equality, mutual responsibility, voluntary participation, noninterference in domestic affairs, international solidarity, respect for national interests, mutual benefit and mutual assistance—all of these are immutable principles of the relations between the fraternal peoples. They have something to enrich each other with, both materially and spiritually. The ideas and experience of friends are common property and are great reserves for restructuring.

The intensification of economic cooperation with the socialist states is an important factor in tackling urgent domestic tasks. The innovations in socialist economic integration—the establishment of direct production and commercial links on the basis of financial autonomy, and the creation and operation of joint enterprises and organizations—are just beginning to prove their worth. It remains for us to collectively establish the prerequisites for a unified market throughout the socialist countries, for currency convertibility, and for broad movement and amalgamation of resources to tackle key scientific, technical, and production problems.

New forms of economic cooperation with the capitalist and developing countries are also growing stronger. About 100 joint enterprises have already been set up on Soviet territory with firms from those states. Various

kinds of consortiums and associations for business cooperation are springing up. At the same time, the fact that our internal mechanisms have not been worked through prevents us from obtaining increased returns from the new forms of cooperation, and the development of efficient foreign economic links is still not being stimulated enough. It is therefore essential to actively continue the restructuring of foreign economic activities. A substantial amount remains to be done to radically change our export structure and to increase Soviet industry's competitiveness. Our country can and must occupy a position in the world economy which corresponds to its productive and scientific-technical potential and to its political authority in the world.

The international situation remains equivocal. It can be said that peace has been given a good chance, but has not yet been fully realized. There are still no guarantees that the positive processes are irreversible; the nuclear threat has been reduced but not removed; the arms race continues. Still active are those who put their faith in diktat methods, who are intent on maintaining the tension, and who are trying to exploit it in the hope of obtaining unilateral advantages. For these reasons we cannot be complacent. The country's defensive might must remain strong. Nevertheless, we are fully determined to seek a just balance of interests with other states and on this basis to build with other states an all-embracing system of international peace and security. With the aim of creating such a system, we shall continue to promote cooperation in all spheres—military, political, economic, ecological, social, and humanitarian.

Comrades, this is already our eighth decade of building a new society. The revolutionary pace must not be slowed down: this would again doom us to stagnation and cast us on to the sidelines of history. Only decisive advance can bring the country out into the highest orbits of social progress. The concerted and increasingly coordinated work of the people and the party is strengthening the positions of restructuring and making it irreversible. The trend toward practical action is growing stronger. More and more people are becoming involved in the creative renewal of our society. Renewed socialism will be a worthy response to the challenge of history and will be the social order to which the revolutionary Leninists and generations of Soviet people devoted their life, labor, and struggle. [applause]

It is with the utmost responsibility that we can say today that the impetus given by October is growing stronger in the ideas and actions of restructuring. It is this that guarantees our victory, comrades. [applause]

Gorbachev Receives Foreign Diplomats

LD0511135988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] In the Georgiyevskiy Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace today there took place the traditional ceremony of presenting to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general

secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the heads of the diplomatic missions of foreign countries accredited in Moscow.

The ceremony was attended by Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Foreign Minister. The diplomats were represented by Chernyshev, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry protocol department.

The heads of the diplomatic missions warmly congratulated the Soviet leaders and the whole Soviet people on the coming anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke at the meeting. He said:

Esteemed doyen, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, on behalf of the Soviet leadership I welcome you, representatives of your states and peoples on the eve of our most important festival, the 71st anniversary of the birth of the Land of the Soviets. The year that has passed since our last meeting has brought not only many important things but also some things which have been unprecedented. The movement has begun toward a new kind of international relations. Of course, the fetters of stereotypes and habits of confrontation have not yet been broken. Nonetheless, the political and psychological environment in which the peoples and the states live is changing for the better.

Positive changes in the world arena became possible as a result of the political will displayed by many governments, as a result of the new level of public movements, and thanks to the revival of the prestige and to the active participation of the United Nations. The leadership of the Soviet Union and its citizens note these changes with satisfaction and, not without good grounds, they link them with the fact that restructuring has given us the opportunity more consistently and creatively, taking account of the realities of the new times, to construct our foreign policy on the principles of peaceful coexistence and living together as equals, as was first proclaimed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin and conditioned by the very nature of socialism.

Each state has its own concerns, its own tasks, its own difficulties. But today no one can satisfy their own interests while ignoring or trampling upon the interests of others or abstracting themselves from the vital requirements of the human race. The new conditions of existence and the new imperatives of the world community also make demands on diplomats. Decisions are made by parliaments and governments, but the accuracy and correctness of these decisions also depend to a large extent on you, diplomats.

We require from those who work in our diplomatic service not only correct information about events in the country where they are assigned but also an objective analysis and responsible recommendations. We assess the skills of diplomats according to their contribution to the mutual understanding and the drawing together of their own country and the country where they are carrying out their homeland's instructions, and also according to whether they are well skilled in ensuring really equal and mutually advantageous relations, in creating an atmosphere of good will and respect among peoples.

Today's world is a world of great hopes, a world of tremendous possibilities and dangers. It demands that politicians and diplomats have a great sense of responsibility, shrewdness, a vigorous sense of realism and good will and, of course, a readiness to understand the other person and to act in his interests and in the interests of people as a whole.

In this connection—I don't know whether this will please you or not—I want to tell you that the volume of your work in Moscow will grow. We promise you that. For we ourselves are quite resolute about insistently continuing the path we have set out on toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, toward a world of cooperation in diversity. Naturally we must take the trouble to see that you have suitable conditions for work. In particular, we intend to expand the possibilities for diplomats to have contact with representatives of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the republics, the government of the USSR and the republican governments, the Central Committee and local party bodies, public organizations, and the mass media. We would like—and I make no secret of it—that you should have an understanding approach to the newness and complications, of the fruitfulness of whatever is entering our life with restructuring, democratization and glasnost, and political and economic reform. We would like you to get to know us better, for that will help you to firmly proceed from the fact that in the Soviet Union your state has a benevolent, predictable, and reliable friend, neighbor or partner.

I would like to ask you to convey to the leaders of the states and governments that you are representing here our good wishes and to your peoples peace and prosperity. I would like to thank you for attending this meeting. We see in that a mark of attention to and respect for the country of the October Revolution and restructuring.

Diplomatic Corps Doyen Speaks

LD0511211188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] The doyen of the diplomatic corps, Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR, said in his speech at today's Kremlin ceremony to present to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the

CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the heads of the diplomatic missions of foreign countries accredited in Moscow:

Esteemed Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, we, the heads of the diplomatic representations are grateful to you for the fact that on the occasion of the Soviet people's traditional and noteworthy festival, you have organized a meeting here in the Kremlin with the diplomatic corps accredited to Moscow, and have just spoken warm words about the work of the diplomatic representatives. On behalf of the heads of the diplomatic missions, allow me to express to you, the leadership of the Soviet Union, and the entire Soviet people fervent congratulations and the very best wishes on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, allow me once more to congratulate you with all my heart, esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, on your election to the post of chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the extraordinary session of the 11th USSR Supreme Soviet at the start of October.

Over the past year we have observed with interest the new changes taking place in the social, political, and economic life of the people of your country. The Soviet people are now deepening restructuring in all spheres and more actively energizing their work. In an atmosphere of profound attention from the people of the world, the Soviet-U.S. summit took place in Moscow and there has been an exchange of ratification documents on putting into effect the treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles, which for the first time in history has opened the way for the elimination of nuclear weapons. All of mankind welcomes these constructive efforts and vigorous activity aimed at raising the prosperity of the Soviet people, accelerating social and economic development within the country, and strengthening peace and security throughout the world. Mankind today as never before wants the world free of nuclear weapons and war. Implementation of universal disarmament and nuclear disarmament in particular, the total elimination of nuclear weapons, the development and prosperity of the whole country [as heard] in a peaceful atmosphere, and the implementation of a just and lasting peace throughout the world is the common aspiration of the whole of mankind, irrespective of the size of the states, their ideology or social system.

I wish to take advantage of the present opportunity to express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the countries represented by the diplomatic representatives present here and the people of your country will develop and become more profound on the basis of principles of independence, nonintervention in internal affairs, mutual interest, and for the good of peace throughout the

world and international security. Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, we wish you success in your noble activities and happiness and prosperity and progress to the Soviet people.

Following the official ceremony, there were relaxed conversations with the ambassadors and charges d'affaires. The meeting with the diplomatic corps took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Moscow Atmosphere Described

*LD0611214888 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT
6 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—TASS correspondent Valeriy Leonidov writes:

Those who were near the central telegraph office on Gorkiy Stret Sunday night saw the shifting light pictures in honour of the forthcoming holiday—the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

At 18.00, Moscow time, 26,000 electric bulbs flashed out on the facade of the building, presenting symbolic pictures replacing one another. At first they showed a map of the USSR, with Moscow marked by a five-pointed star. This was followed by a picture symbolising an ecologically pure world: rainbow over a blue river and a tree with trembling foliage. The idyllic landscape was ominously overshadowed by nuclear missiles but not for long. The human hand erased the missiles from the picture, and the sun began to shine brightly again.

It is with a dream about well-being on earth and clear skies over the planet that people of the Soviet capital approach the memorable date in the life of the Soviet country and the whole of mankind. The festive look of Moscow streets and squares, the street illumination, and folk merrymaking are traditional on these November days.

The changes that have forced their way into the life of the land of the Soviets has changed the atmosphere of the holiday this time. It has lost its pomposity which was characteristic of the festivities and jubilees of the recent past. Ostentatious portraits and huge panels reporting the percentage of exceeding the planned targets and pledges disappeared from the facades of buildings. The leader of the revolution, Vladimir I. Lenin, in the festive decor in the Red Square looks more like a human being than a symbol.

Walking in the front ranks of a festive civilian demonstration in the Red Square on November 7 will be the workers of the Serp i Molot Metallurgical Plant, the Krasniy Proletary Machine Tool Making Amalgamation, the textile Trekhgornaya Manufactura mill, and representatives of other work collectives that have successfully attained the targets of the ten months of the year.

However, representatives of eleven plants that fell short of the plan will hardly feel at ease in the columns of demonstrators. The sharp criticism—which is addressed these days to the Dynamo Electrical Engineering Amalgamation, the Zil Autoworks and other famous plants that fell behind the accelerated pace of perestroika—is in line with the spirit of the times which urges one honestly to acknowledge errors and to overcome them as soon as possible.

The approaching holiday is felt everywhere. More than ten thousand families will receive new apartments in Solntsevo, a new neighbourhood in Moscow's south-west suburb, before the end of the year. The buildings have just made available two houses for 408 apartments and together with them shops, a kindergarten, cafes, and every-day service establishments.

Pre-holiday bazaars have been held everywhere, in both downtown area and on the outskirts of the city. There was a fair near the popular restaurant Sofia. Passers-by were offered Ukrainian borshch, Caucasian shashlyks, porridge prepared at a travelling kitchen, and tea from samovar. The lovers of exotic dishes were invited to Restaurant Jaltarang.

Current films and theatrical performances tell about Lenin, the revolution, and the present-day reality which is rich in events.

Moscow pop and rock groups who recently made triumphant tours of the European countries and the United States give performances at the Olimpiyskiy sports complex and in major concert halls.

Kremlin Reception Held 7 Nov

*LD0711135188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 7 Nov 88*

[Text] On 7 November the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers held a reception to mark the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

Present at the reception were Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov. In the hall were members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and RSFSR, heads of ministries and departments, representatives of party, local soviet and public organizations, veterans of the Leninist Party, participants of the October Revolution, front-rankers from industry and agriculture, prominent personalities in science, masters of culture, military leaders, and participants in the military parade on the Red Square. Also present were prominent personalities from a number of communist

and workers' parties, and other foreign guests who arrived in our country for the festivities, heads of diplomatic missions of foreign states accredited in Moscow, representatives of the clergy, and Soviet and foreign journalists.

Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke to those present.

Comrade Gorbachev's address was greeted with prolonged applause.

The reception proceeded in a warm and festive atmosphere. Master artists gave a festive concert for those attending the reception.

Gorbachev Addresses Reception

LD0711130888 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT
7 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, spoke at a reception in the Kremlin today on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He said:

"Dear comrades, friends, ladies and gentlemen,

Another post-October year has gone down in history. However, our common impression seems to be that this year, far from taking us further away from the October Revolution, brought us closer to it, to the goals for the sake of which the party and Lenin had prepared and headed the Russian Revolution. I would even say that it is not an impression but a growing confidence. It is substantiated by the progress of perestroika, by the revolutionary essence of the transformations which are under way, by the tempestuous nature of the life of society in which we are feeling again the surge and energy of that remote and great turn in the destinies of our motherland.

"The characteristic feature of the present-day situation is that the country has started moving forward, towards socialism worthy of our ideals and meeting the criteria of today, towards society which our people have long deserved, for the sake of which they have lived through so many hardships and have done so many heroic deeds of eternal value.

"Starting a new stage of the revolution, we realized that we would have to live through a difficult transition period. Now we have entered it. Not everything goes smoothly so far. We are gaining momentum not as quickly as we should like to and as we could. And still, millions of people have joined perestroika already. It became a way of life and work for them. They have been convinced by their own experience that there is no alternative to it. All the creative forces of the working

class, peasantry, intellectuals and young people link with perestroika their future, their personal and public interests, the future of their children and the country in general.

"Today, comrades, it would be worth recalling that perestroika is the direct continuation of a choice in favour of socialism made by our people in October 1917. Since that time the basic values of our revolution have been the source of progress of the Land of the Soviets even in the most difficult of times.

"Today the peoples of this country continue to proceed from the assumption that it is only by following the path of socialism that they can enter the 21st century in a proper way and to hold in the world community a place that this country deserves thanks to its historic services and potentialities.

"A policy of perestroika, democratization and glasnost, a political and economic reform, the improvement of the social and moral health of society, the riddance of all that distorted the meaning of socialism have brought to a new level the development of our multinational federal state. In its turn, the unity, friendship and equitable cooperation of all the Soviet peoples is a guarantee of further progress of each of them and an indispensable condition of the success of perestroika in general.

"A year ago we entered the eighth post-October decade with new foreign political ideas and initiatives. The obvious realities of perestroika in the country made more convincing our active participation in the process of the improvement of world situation. The past twelve months witnessed the decisions and actions of crucial importance both for the present-day life and for the future. World politics are approaching the level at which they will not only face the task of ensuring the survival of humanity, but at which a possibility emerges to consider jointly—with due respect for the freedom of choice and a balance of interests—the design of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world.

"With all the difficulties and dangers which are still facing humanity, with the enormous scope of tasks it is to fulfil, in my opinion, it is possible to say that the past year has added confidence that these problems can be resolved.

"I congratulate you once again, dear comrades, and wish you all health and vigour which are especially necessary to us today.

"I congratulate peoples of socialist countries and all our foreign friends, including those who are present in this hall: they are also observing this day with which the emergence of a new world is connected.

"Best wishes to representatives of foreign countries present here who took part in our celebrations.

"Thanks to the heads of state and government, leaders of parties and organizations, separate individuals who have sent to us messages of greeting and congratulations."

Military Parade Begins

LD0711070888 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT
7 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—The tenth stroke of the chime on the Spassky Tower sounded loudly over the Red Square with all those present there standing still in the expectation of the festivities. It announced the beginning of a military parade devoted to the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR]. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other leaders of the party and the state are on the rostrum of the Lenin Mausoleum.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0645 GMT on 7 November in a similar report adds: "(Announcer): 'Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, and Baklanov have ascended the central platform of the mausoleum. Here, too, are distinguished Soviet military figures.'"]

Differences From Past Parades Noted

LD0711102288 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 7
Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, November 7 TASS—TASS special correspondent Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalaev report from the Red Square:

One of the mottoes of perestroika which swept today all the spheres of social and economic life in this country is that streamers cannot screen the reality and slogans cannot replace actions. This motto is reflected in today's demonstration of Muscovites in the Red Square. This demonstration is an anniversary one. 70 years ago, in 1918 when the young Soviet republic was observing its first anniversary, the first demonstration was held here.

Working people of Moscow enter the Red Square in eight columns. It is worth mentioning that this time the decoration of the columns is more restrained and modest, which is a manifestation of the revival of the revolutionary tradition of demonstrations. Muscovites are demonstrating today their loyalty to the ideals of socialism which can be proved only by actions. This is why there are no general phrases on the streamers carried by demonstrators. They were replaced by specific information about the headway made during the years of perestroika.

"The output of machines which are on a par with world level went up in Moscow from 27 to 40.8 per cent in the past year", says a streamer carried by demonstrators

from Kuntsevo district, one of 33 districts of the capital. The structural transformation of economy which is under way in the Soviet Union provides for the renewal of the output of this basic industry: By 1990 90 per cent of machinery turned out by it should be on a par with the world level. Starting with 1993, it is planned to renew annually 13 per cent of the produced machinery. The analysis of the first three years of the current 12th five-year-plan period (1986-1990) shows that changes for the better are already taking place in machine-building. Specifically, the share of the main types of products in an overall output which are on a par with the world level went up from 23 to 55 per cent.

The results of perestroika are seen in the fulfillment of a housing construction program which provides for supplying each Soviet family with a separate apartment or a cottage by 2000. "39,000 new comfortable flats have been put into service in Moscow since the beginning of the year", says a streamer carried by construction workers. On the whole 890,000 flats have been built in the USSR in the nine months of the current year. According to the estimates of academician Leonid Abalkin, a well-known Soviet economist, plans for housing construction will be overfulfilled in the current five-year-plan period. At the same time, much remains to be done to reach other plan targets. Academician Abalkin believes that the targets for labour productivity, the national income and the real income of the population will hardly be reached.

Almost every streamer features words that have become the symbols of transformations taking place in the USSR, namely, cost-accounting, lease-contract system, the development of the cooperative movement and the growing economic role of the soviets. One of the streamers announces the creation of a cooperative industrial enterprise, the Moscow plant for producing low-voltage instruments. These unusual words mark the phenomenon which is a clear reflection of perestroika. Some time ago the plant was liquidated because it was unprofitable. The labour collective decided to take it on lease. In the first month of the work in new conditions labour productivity growth rate exceeded 6 per cent there. At present there are 700,000 people in the USSR who work at cooperative enterprises.

The weather was rather dull today, with slight frost and cloudy sky. However, this did not spoil a festive mood of tens of thousands of demonstrators. The demonstration reaffirmed the loyalty of Muscovites to the ideals of the revolution and their allegiance to the idea of perestroika—the revolutionary transformations of socialism on the present stage.

Leaders Greet Regional Meetings

LD0711150588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] Parades, meetings, and promenading have taken place in the capitals of the union republics, kray and oblast centers, and in other towns and villages around

the country. The working people expressed their ardent approval of the Communist Party's course toward a fundamental solution of economic problems, democratization of all aspects of life, expansion of glasnost, and the new political thinking in international affairs. Those taking part in manifestations were greeted in Leningrad by Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Obkom; and in Kiev by Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee. Those taking part in festive manifestations were also greeted by party and local soviet leaders of the union republics Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Kirgiziya, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, and Estonia.

'Phoney Verbiage' of Past Noted

LD0611130288 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT
6 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—By TASS analyst Boris Krayevsky:

Speaking frankly, during the years of "stagnation" we got accustomed to meeting the holiday of the Great October Revolution the following way: The plan should be overfulfilled by November 7, labour successes should be spectacular and "eyes of festively dresses Muscovites" should "shine with happiness". All knew that this was a phoney verbiage timed to the occasion.

Today is the eve of the national holiday, but things look somewhat different. There is no drum-beating, and we read with melancholy but calmly that there is no cornucopia on shop shelves, as we would like to have, that plans on housing were fulfilled not in all places, the budget for the next year was approved with a sizeable deficit and the Soviet shuttle was not blasted off at the first start.

Who lost from the fact that we know the truth? We have no less festive feelings than before. Our spirits are even higher than in the past when we read in newspapers words, familiar by old reports, about "inexhaustible labour enthusiasm and cloudless happiness to live in the Soviet land".

Now that I am asked what the three and a half years of perestroika brought to us, I reply without hesitation: Soviet people are now treated with due respect as citizens of the country but not as an object for manipulations. And glasnost (openness) is the brightest manifestation of this.

Following the call and example of the new leadership of the Communist Party, all of us are learning to say and write truth without concealing difficulties and shortcomings. As a result, people started believing themselves and our statistics and their leaders. Now we are sure: If anyone of them says something, we know that he means this.

The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet held late in October pointed to difficulties and setback in the economy. It is a pity of course. But, at least, now we know exactly what is wrong and where and what should be rectified. This is already something, isn't? Statements of emerging positive trends in the economic development which were also at the session, were received with joy by all: This is truth and not pre-holiday verbiage, as was the case in the past.

They say that glasnost is a secondary element of the political superstructure based on a solid fundamental economic basis. This is the case evidently. In the long run, glasnost is not the main thing. Seemingly, there are more important things.

But the thing is that processes in the economic basis move slowly, and in the political superstructure—quicker. People want that the desirous good changes should come as soon as possible. Therefore, if you ask virtually any man in the USSR what gladdens him today most of all and what inspires optimism and confidence in the success of perestroika and in that the country will eventually tackle the problems of adequate food supplies, housing construction and balanced budgets, you will hear in reply—glasnost and frankness. Today these are the main and important achievements which create a festive feeling.

Gorbachev Addresses Olympic Contestants

LD0411190888 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1730 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers today gave a reception in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in honor of the Soviet contestants in the 1988 Olympic Games.

It was attended by Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Medvedev, and A.P. Biryukova.

The meeting was opened by M.S. Gorbachev. He said:

Dear comrades, dear Olympic contestants!

I sincerely and cordially greet and congratulate you on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government, and on behalf of all of our people on your successful performance at the 24th Summer Olympic Games.

Also present in this hall today are the victors of the Calgary Winter Olympic Games. We wholeheartedly congratulate them, too.

Millions of people admire your exploits. They constitute a marvelous example for the rising generation of the Land of the Soviets.

I would like very much to list here the names of all 276 champions and Olympic prize winners. But, as you can see, that would be quite simply unrealistic.

Be that as it may, I would like to single out the superb performances of Vladimir Salnikov, Yelena Shushunova, Vladimir Artemov, Sergey Bubka, Yuriy Zakharevich, Sergey Beloglazov, Vyacheslav Yanovskiy, and Tatyana Samolenko.

I address words of congratulations and high praise to your coaches and instructors for their work, as well as to everyone who helped you prepare for the Olympic competitions.

One wonderful feature of our Olympic team is that athletes from virtually all the union republics are represented in it.

I am sure you have all gotten to know one another even better and have struck up friendships, and that you will keep up and develop these ties of friendship and fraternal relations.

It is a good thing that sports help extend the framework of international interaction and promotes the strengthening of friendship and trust between the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Dear friends! In the "Ode to Sport" composed by Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympic movement, it is brilliantly said that sport is pleasure architect, justice, challenge, nobility, joy and fruitfulness, since it asserts "mens sana in corpore sano!"

Sport is also progress, physical and moral, since it promotes the perfection of the person, nature's finest creation.

These thoughts are close to us, people who live in a country of socialism. We are doing all we can for the implementation of socialism's humanitarian objectives. Your role here is very great, comrade Olympians!

Of course, you understand and, I think, agree with the fact that the aim of the Soviet movement of physical culture is not only to gain victory in international competitions.

Without good physical training and fitness, none of us can enjoy a full-blooded life.

We want everyone to begin caring for their physical improvement at an early age, to have the opportunity to play sports, and to lead a healthy lifestyle.

I can tell you that in the near future we will be examining the matter of enhancing the role of physical culture and of improving the population's standard of health.

Solving this task, of course, will require considerable material investment and substantial effort on the part of state and public organizations.

We hope that you famous sportsmen and coaches will also be actively involved in implementing this program.

There is probably no need to remind you how great a role you play in the upbringing of adolescents and children. To many of them you are idols, and they pay particular attention to what you say.

If today we are setting the task of involving every schoolchild in regular sporting activities, this can be served best of all by your example and your conduct. You enjoy great authority; cherish it.

It pleases me to be able to tell you that it is planned to honor a large group of the most outstanding sportsmen, trainers, and other specialists with orders and medals of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the "Ode to Sport" contains these fine words: "Oh, Sport, you are peace!"

Yes, just as in ancient Greece the Olympic games bring peace, and sport is becoming a very important factor in strengthening mutual understanding, cooperation, and friendship among the peoples.

The Olympic movement has become genuinely global in character. It has become one of the noble human values whose significance is growing extraordinarily in our world today.

We are convinced that the human community which has come up against the real threat of self-annihilation is capable of learning to live in a civilized manner, in an atmosphere of cooperation and friendship.

Sports, too, has a great role to play in creating the conditions for this.

Comrades! Many of you have ahead of you new tests in the sports arenas. Some of you are to complete your studies and master a profession. You have ahead of you many years of active life.

Everywhere and in all things be just as persistent and purposeful as we have seen you in the Olympic games.

Allow me once again to congratulate you on your successful performances at the games and on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Revolution and to wish you new successes in work, study, and sport!

M.S. Gorbachev's speech was met with applause.

In their speeches V. Salnikov, meritorious master of sport of the USSR and four-time Olympic swimming champion; L.YA. Arkayev, meritorious trainer of the USSR, senior trainer of the USSR national gymnastic team, and head of the directorate of the USSR State

Committee for Physical Culture and Sport; and T. Samolenko, meritorious master of sports of the USSR and female Olympic athletics champion, shared their impressions of the course of the sporting struggle in the arenas of the Olympiads and talked about the problems of the further development of Soviet sports and the expansion of its mass character. They also talked about our country's athletes' desire to be active participants in restructuring. They expressed appreciation of the constant attention shown to Soviet sportsmen. The Olympians spoke of their determination to continue to do justice to the hopes of millions of fans.

Then there was an unconstrained conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and sportsmen, trainers, and specialists in the sports industry. The conversations dealt with the whole range of problems of developing mass physical culture and sports in the country in the course of restructuring.

Leading artists gave a concert in honor of the Olympians.

Gorbachev Meets With Moscow Youth

LD0511225488 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1915 GMT 5 Nov 88

[From the "View" program presented by Aleksandr Lyubimov]

[Excerpts] On 29 October there was a meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and young people from Moscow city and Moscow oblast, to mark the 70th anniversary of the Komsomol. Eduard (Sagalayev), youth editorial board correspondent, was present at this meeting. [passage omitted]

We thank Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for speaking to our editors during the festive meeting, and we hope that other leaders will also spare the time to appear on the "View" program. One fragment of this meeting seems to us to speak about Gorbachev the man:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] In the final analysis, we have no hungry people. We have shortages. In our country, you understand, cash potential does not accord with goods resources—there is that too. When we were students there were things to be bought but we had nothing to buy them with. Raisa Maksimovna and I were always counting the kopecks, but we got by. And what was more, on the kolkhoz where we worked we were not paid cash, but later on....!

Yet everything was there to be had! Absolutely everything! Those crabs which today are considered the height of, er...

[Raisa Gorbacheva interrupts] a great delicacy.

[Gorbachev] ...a great delicacy, there were heaps of them, and nobody showed any interest in them.

[Medvedev] Caviar was sold from the barrel!

[Gorbachev] Caviar from the barrel, Too! [words indistinct due to interchange and laughter between Medvedev and Raisa Gorbacheva] Here, on Oktyabrskaya Square—it used to be called Kaluzhskaya Square, now it has all been rebuilt. At that time it was semicircular, made up of a network of little shops. There was the Avangard cinema in a church, if Muscovites remember it. We would go from the university. If we could not get into the Udarnik cinema then we would go to the Avangard, watch a movie, then we would go round the shops, (?wanting) to buy everything. There was everything to be had in plenty. But then there were no buyers, kids! Now everyone buys things. So we must step up the output of things to buy, of course. [end recording]

Supreme Court Head on Legal Reform

LD0611091188 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT
6 Nov 88

[Text] As the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, Vladimir Terebilov, has said in a televised interview, the basic documents pertaining to the planned legal reform in the country are to be published by the end of the year for a public discussion.

The documents will also cover criminal legislation, the enquiry and court system, and other areas of importance for the establishment of a socialist state rule by law.

PRAVDA Publishes Letters on Ethnic Issues

LD0511120288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] PRAVDA today publishes a number of letters under the heading "The Soviet Union is Our Common Home".

In an editorial preface it is noted that the letters daily reaching the paper are evidence of the fairly complicated situation in relations between nationalities which has arisen in a number of the country's areas.

It is a mistake to underestimate this situation and its acuteness. And even though some people may find today's letters controversial, one cannot but make them public.

Comrade Saneyev, a resident of the capital of Tataria, draws attention to the fact that initiative groups on problems of Tatar culture and other aspects have recently been operating very vigorously in Kazan. But, unfortunately, all these gatherings and meetings are taking place in a atmosphere which is insulting to other nationalities. It must be said that at work and in everyday life relations between people of Tatar and other nationalities are for the most part good. That makes it all

the more offensive when unhealthy national passions are stirred up, while it looks as though the republic's party bodies are standing on the sidelines.

Comrade Gvozdkov and a number of other Riga residents write that a law on Latvian citizenship is now being prepared with unusual haste. A term of 10 years for the right to acquire citizenship is being discussed. The aim, in the opinion of the authors of the letter, is not to give a very large number of people the opportunity to take part in the elections to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet in spring next year. They think that Latvia will place itself in an exceptional position in setting the 10-year term.

The local press is trying to thrust the view on people that each delegate of the constituent congress of the Latvian People's Front was expressing only his personal view, and they explain this by pluralism. But, firstly, each delegate represented a certain circle of people or a labor collective who sent him to this congress as a delegate. Consequently, he is obliged to express their position.

Secondly, if one even admits that some delegates expressed their personal chauvinist views, they should have lost their delegate powers. The reaction of the hall and the stormy applause of the audience were clear. This support enabled the next speaker to speak even more sharply without choosing their words too carefully.

The concept of democracy does not include the concept of insulting and humiliating another nation and the Communist Party. The authors of the letter regard the position of the communist delegates at the congress as disgraceful. Not a single one of them found it necessary to condemn the display of nationalism at it. Their position of appeasement made it possible for the addresses by some to be turned into advocacy of nationalism.

A letter by Comrade Gunko from the town of Novaya Kakhovka in Kherson Oblast is printed in PRAVDA. He reports that recently at an oblast conference he heard from a senior official that representatives of almost 100 nations and ethnic groups are living in Kherson Oblast. When I, Comrade Gunko continues, asked how many types of national schools exist in the oblast, I heard the following answer: only two, a Ukrainian school and a Russian school, and, besides, several optional courses were opened this year for the study of the Crimean Tatar language.

Attention is now rightly being paid to the development of bilingualism in each republic, the letter says further. I thought: but why actually bilingualism and not multilingualism? After all, each republic in our country has already been multinational for a long time.

'Loss of Memory' Predominates at Sumgait Trial
NC0611110288 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 November, ARMENPRES—Those following the Moscow trial are greatly moved by the testimonies given. As already reported, in all the testimonies, without exception, there has been a loss of memory. Every day five to six people testify. If we want to be impartial, we can say that the impression one gets is that someone is standing behind the columns and trying to conduct the testimonies in a bid to wrongly defend those who committed the crimes in Sumgait's "A" District. All the answers are very stereotypical: "We don't know." "We didn't see." "We don't remember."

One of the basic points the court is trying to clarify through the testimonies is: Who was the person with the loudspeaker and the axe? Preliminary investigations showed that it was A. Akhmedov, who was provocatively calling for the massacre of Armenians by raising the bloodstained weapon and shouting "Long live Azerbaijan." But we repeat that from the testimonies it appears that no one knows Akhmedov as "the man with the loudspeaker" even when he himself confesses that it was he.

The vicious bloodshed and violence against the Armenians in "A" District was so savage that it is difficult to accept that those who witnessed it could have forgotten. Lawyers (A. Rshtuni) and (P. Shaposhnikov) from Yerevan maintain that if the impressions were so strong, then how could people have forgotten? How have these people "lost" their memories? It is surprising how the witnesses questioned remember many secondary and meaningless points when they get carried away in their testimony, but they cannot remember the main issue.

One of the witnesses testified that the height of "the man with the loudspeaker" was 162 cm. What a detailed description, especially if you are watching from the fourth floor.... He said that the man spoke to the mob in pure and fluent Russian. The witness testified that the man with the loudspeaker spoke in pure Russian at a time when he himself did not know Russian and a translator was used to translate his testimony. At what is all this aimed? At defending Akhmedov whose pronunciation is not good and who does not speak Russian well?

Everything is a joke. The witness was asked if the person who was provoking the mob and calling for bloodshed was sitting on the defendant's bench and to identify him. He answered that the man was not there because the person he saw had a mustache.

Lawyer (R. Rshtuni) then asked Akhmedov:

"You had a mustache. Why did you shave it off?"

"I have never had a mustache," was the answer.

At this point, the Yerevan lawyers asked that evidence be produced. They referred to the YEREKOYAN YEREVAN newspaper of 27 October which published a picture of the murders taken during the first days of the crimes. The picture showed Akhmedov with a mustache.

The witnesses remember many things such as the hair-color of the woman whose hands were being crushed by the mad and fanatic mob dragging her out of a car. They had noted such a small detail on a person who was inside and being dragged out...

What happened to the woman? They don't remember. Who was the agitator? They didn't see. How did they not see the person who kicked the head of a wounded person, they ask Sh. Aliyev, a worker in one of the city's factories. He goes into a detailed description of the mob's doings.

"What were you doing in the mob?" the lawyers ask.

"I was just watching."

"Was it interesting?"

"I swear that it was horrible."

"Then why didn't you leave instead of staying and watching calmly?"

"I wasn't watching calmly."

"Why didn't you call the militia?"

"There was no need to. The militia saw everything."

"As a human being and as a citizen, why didn't you try to carry out your humanitarian duty and to help the people?"

"I was carrying out my duty as a citizen."

As pointed out in the testimonies, 32 were killed in Sumgait. More than 400 Armenians received various wounds. Some 200 homes were destroyed, and more than 50 cultural and vital buildings were damaged. The loss inflicted on the republic—on the republic alone—is R7 million.

A true hunt for Armenians was organized. When they were killing Armenians in "A" District, A. Akhmedov was shouting in the bullhorn: "Sisters of Azerbaijan. Do not look this way. Let your men look." But everyone looked—men, women and children; they saw what medieval atrocities and detestable and violent crimes were being perpetrated, only because people were Armenian.

Moscow's Sh. Manvelyan told us: "I went to Sumgait to see my cousin. She was not at home. She was not at the relatives' house either. My relatives and I looked all over town and in all the morgues. I found my cousin in one of

the morgues. I was able to identify her by her hands and feet. Can you imagine how disfigured a pregnant woman must have been for me to be able to identify her only by a physical fault?"

Hearing about the Sumgait crimes, you inevitably think: How could such a thing have happened in this era? The mob, ruled by unanimous fanaticism, attacked the people. Unanimous, because out of the thousands, no one stopped the killing, the destruction, the first fire, the first violence, the first murder. That was a unanimous mob next to which stood a violent murderer, a cold-hearted townsman, watching this bloody merriment with interest.

The question that unfortunately remains is: who was standing behind the fanatic murderers in Artsakh? Who had incited the mob and awakened in them the savage instinct to kill?

In the city's auto terminal stones had been piled up carefully and then "thrown" at the soldiers who came there to restore calm and order. The people had apparently prepared fortifications to be able to crush the heads of their victims from behind. It is not accidental that the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent reports from the courtroom that the hunting mob was not unaware of its targets. And it is not accidental that during the trial of the fervent supporters of the Sumgait murders and violence, A. Akhmedov's mother shouted: "Why don't you try those who conducted these [not further specified] together with my son?"

Yes, not just a few questions await answers. Why were the militia and the city organs inactive? Why—when military subdivisions had already been set up in the city in order to restore calm and order in the local bodies—were the (?ethnic) savageries that remind one of medieval times continuing against the people?

We have already reported about [word indistinct] Valiyev who was brought to Moscow under guard in order to testify. Along with unruly youths like himself, he had violated an Armenian girl, looted Armenian homes, and then rushed to his home in order to take his Armenian mother to the village. "They could have killed her too," he explained. "And what kind of a mother was the woman who gave birth to you?" some shouted in the courtroom.

(Valiyev) replied with hatred: "Leave my mother alone, because if I open my mouth..."

As far as he is concerned, his Armenian mother is sacred. But when it came to the mothers and sisters of others, he acted like a savage.

The court is studying each and every piece of evidence and judging them justly.

However, the Sumgait crimes through which the Armenian residents lived are a sacrilege in our enlightened 20th century. You hear the details on the crimes committed in "A" District in Sumgait, and you cannot understand or explain what kind of savage strength incited people like Akhmedov, Ismailov, and Dzhaferov... There is no rational explanation... they harassed Asya Arakelyan. They [word indistinct] her on a pole, beat her with a hoe in a huge yard surrounded by buildings, in front of many neighbors who watched the thousand-strong mob—and none of them, none of all those who shiver in the courtroom today when they remember the stupefying scene, went to her aid. And Dzhaferov (?played) with the [word indistinct], and was stabbing a knife into the woman who was lying on the ground. The husband of the woman had been murdered a few minutes before by Dzhaferov and his companions, Akhmedov and Ismailov. This happened at 1800. They had (?set fire to) the body of the woman while she was still alive. She was burning but not making noise so that they would not realize she was alive and thus kill her. It was almost 0100 in the morning, according to the testimony by her neighbor (T. Yupova), when she managed to get up and flee.

The trial of the murderers and of the violent is continuing, and the evidence is being very carefully studied. [Signed] L. Azroyan and Dzh. Balagoyzyan, special ARMENPRES correspondents.

Extraordinary Session of NKAO Soviet Opens
NC0411141988 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Our correspondent Anna Dosyan reports from Stepanakert:

The extraordinary session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) Soviet of People's Deputies opened at 1100 this morning in the premises of the conference hall of the oblast soviet. The session will debate draft laws of the USSR on amendments and supplements to the Constitution, the basic law of the USSR, and the election of USSR people's deputies.

The session will also hear reports on the progress of the fulfillment of the measures taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers for the acceleration of the socio-economic development of the NKAO.

Greater Power for Regions Urged
NC0511125288 Paris AFP in English 0830 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 5 (AFP)—The Soviet (parliament) of the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh late Friday called for an amendment to the national constitution aimed at boosting the powers of autonomous regions and republics, a member of the Karabakh Committee said.

Committee member Levon Ter-Petrosyan told AFP by telephone that the call was made in a resolution adopted by the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet.

No change in the status of autonomous administrative entities is called for in the plans for constitutional amendments published two weeks ago.

Mr. Ter-Petrosyan, who was speaking from Stepanakert, the main two of Nagorno-Karabakh, added that the Armenian members of the region's parliament had again demanded that the region be withdrawn from Azerbaijan's administrative control and incorporated into Armenia.

Nagorno-Karabakh, a mostly-Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan, has been rocked by ethnic strife for several months.

Nagorno-Karabakh parliamentarians also demanded Friday that the region's Azeris stop their "illegal" building projects in the enclave's villages.

The projects, Mr. Ter-Petrosyan said, are aimed at increasing the percentage of the Azeri population in Nagorno-Karabakh prior to a census scheduled early next year.

The region's council also requested that the sum of 400 million roubles (045 million dollars), to be allocated by the central Politburo for Nagorno-Karabakh's social and economic development, be handed over directly to the council.

Mr. Ter-Petrosyan said the situation in the region remained "terrible" due to the continuing curfew and to the attitude of the army, which he said "backs the Azeris."

"People are indignant," he added, saying that a mass meeting was to be held later Saturday in the Armenian capital of Yerevan to discuss the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Alma-Ata Obkom Replaces First Secretary
LD0411203188 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1943 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] ALMA-ATA 4 Nov (TASS)—A plenum of the Alma-Ata Obkom of the Kazakh Communist Party was held today to consider an organizational matter.

The plenum released Marat Mendybayev from his duties as first secretary of the Party Obkom in connection with his transfer to other work. Kasym Tyulebekov, who has been working as first secretary of the Chimkent Party Obkom, was elected first secretary of the Obkom.

Moldavian Central Committee Cuts Staff Sharply
*LD0511174388 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT
5 Nov 88*

[Text] Kishinev November 5 tass—The Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, at its plenary meeting today, decided to cut by one third the staff of the party Central Committee.

The plenum considered the question of forming commissions of the republican Communist Party Central Committee and reorganizing the party bodies in the republic in keeping with the decisions of the 19th conference of the Soviet Communist Party.

Regional Oblast Personnel Changes Made
*LD0511175588 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT
5 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—The Gorno-Altay, Odessa and Vinnitsa regional [oblast] communist party committees, at their plenary meetings today, considered organizational issues.

The plenum of the Gorno-Altay regional committee elected Vladimir Gusev, who had worked as second secretary of the Altay Territorial Party Committee, its first secretary.

The plenum of the Odessa Regional Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party relieved Anatoliy Nochevkin of the duties of first regional party secretary in connection with his retirement on pension.

Georgiy Kryuchkov, who had worked as deputy head of the department for organizational party work at the Soviet Communist Party central Committee, was elected first secretary. The plenum of the Vinnitsa regional committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party relieved Leontiy Krivoruchko of the duties of first secretary in connection with his retirement on pension.

Arkadiy Nekhayevskiy was elected first secretary of the Vinnitsa Regional Party Committee. He had worked earlier as second secretary of the Committee.

Information Briefing Notes Features of State Plan
*PM0611200788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "The Plan: Looking to Tomorrow"]

[Text] A briefing held 1 November by the USSR Council of Ministers Information Department was devoted to the results of the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session that ratified the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1989. Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee

Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finance, spoke to Soviet and foreign journalists and answered their questions.

The features of the ratified plan were noted. They include its increased social thrust and the plan's accordance with the radical economic and political reforms being implemented in the country.

Working conditions equally beneficial to all sectors are to be created in the new year. Subsidies for the production of children's goods, for instance, will rise by R0.5 billion. The development of lease principles in economic activity not only in the countryside but also in industry will continue. The volume of wholesale trade will more than double.

An experiment in territorial self-financing is being prepared in individual regions, including Moscow.

It was noted at the briefing that despite the fact that record growth has been achieved this year in the production of consumer goods and services (it totaled R21 billion), the gap between the commodity and the money mass is still palpable.

A number of questions touched on the problems of the budget deficit, the formation of the state order system, the development of cooperatives, and foreign trade activity.

Shcherbitskiy Komsomol Jubilee Speech
*AU0411205088 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 30 Oct 88 p 3-4*

[RATAU report on a meeting of the Ukraine's party and government leaders on 29 October in Kiev with Komsomol activists, party and Komsomol veterans: "Increasing the Komsomol's Real Contribution Toward Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] On 29 October the republic's Komsomol activists, party and Komsomol veterans gathered in the Museum of the History of the Ukraine's Komsomol in Kiev. The meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Ukraine's Komsomol was attended by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman; Army General I.A. Gerasimov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member; K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary; G.I. Revenko, Kiev Obkom first secretary; A.I. Korniyenko and L.M. Kravchuk, respective chiefs of the

Organizational Party and Cadre Work, and the Ideological Departments in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

After the inspection of the museum exposition, the meeting continued in the club hall of the "Molod" publishing house under the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee. V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, delivered a speech to the participants of the meeting. He said:

Dear comrades: We have just inspected the museum exposition, and have seen the entire heroic and glorious history of the Komsomol as if it were marching past before our eyes.

In its greetings message to the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League, the CPSU Central Committee noted:

"Born in the flaming years of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Leninist Komsomol has always supported all its people along their entire heroic path, has always responded to the call of the motherland. Both in labor and in battle, the Komsomols have acted hand in hand with the Communists, have led young men and women wherever there were difficulties and wherever the enthusiasm and energies of youths were needed. The Komsomol has made an enormous contribution toward the education of the millions of fighters devoted to the ideas of socialism, and its deeds have filled an unfading page in our history."

Allow me on behalf of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to cordially congratulate you, and through you all the republic's Komsomols and young people, on the 70th anniversary of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League.

Comrades, the Komsomol's annals are part and parcel of the history of our socialist homeland. We know that in this history there were brilliant, bitter, and even tragic chapters. But there was nothing that could have undone the deeds accomplished by those who dedicated themselves entirely to the triumphant Leninist ideas, who laid foundations for socialism, who stood firmly in the mortal battle against fascism, and who restored the national economy ruined by the war. We warmly and sincerely acknowledge for that all those whom we respectfully call Komsomol veterans.

Comrades, we all get our origins from the October revolution. Our great revolution is at present continuing in the deep restructuring which has been launched by the party and which has encompassed all important spheres of our society's life. It goes without saying, M.S. Gorbachev said, that when we compare the achievements with the final goals of restructuring, we are just starting out on our path. And yet, a great deal has been done. The

country is changing in the full sense of the word. A profound process of radical renewal is taking place in the economy, as well as in the social and the spiritual spheres.

As you know, the recent plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee exactly scrutinized the work carried out in the republic to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the succeeding CPSU Central Committee Plenums. The plenum materials have been published. No doubt, you have familiarized yourselves with them. Like all over the country, draft laws amending and supplementing the USSR Constitution, and draft laws on the election of people's deputies in the USSR are now being actively discussed in the republic. Radical reform is ahead in the entire political system of our society.

I would like to emphasize that the essence and spirit of both the radical economic reform and the profound democratization in the life of society, which stem from the objective needs of our development, are in keeping with the energies and enthusiasm of youths. Restructuring is fully in line with young people's aspirations to create something new, with their irreconcilability to routine, and fully meets the interests of young people. After all, restructuring implies not only the country's present, but also the future. And the future belongs to young people; you have to build it. This is why I would like to call your attention to an important issue—that of restructuring and the younger generation.

You and I share historical responsibility for the destinies of socialism and of our homeland. It was therefore not mere chance that precisely the role and place of the Komsomol and of all youths were discussed today in the museum exhibit.

We share the opinion that restructuring is revolutionary in its nature. And like any revolutionary process, it goes in step primarily with cardinal changes in the consciousness of the masses. These processes are particularly impetuous in the youth milieu that is remarkable for both a sensitive feeling of justice and youthful maximalism.

It is to be admitted frankly that, because of the inability to comprehend the essence of the processes which are taking place, or even because of the fear of anything that is new, many Komsomol organizations and their leaders have, to some extent, lost their prestige.

In boosting, in renewing confidence in the Komsomol as a political youth organization, it is now essential to refer once again to Lenin's heritage; because historical experience shows that loyalty to the ideas of the party, to ideas reflecting the people's vital interests is the cornerstone on which the Komsomol's strength and viability

have been built. And Lenin's idea that authentic Communists are shaped only by common efforts with the workers and the peasants, far from having been outdated, has become, on the contrary, even more topical.

The Komsomol has always been remarkable for its ability to accomplish concrete practical tasks, frequently very complex and responsible, at all stages of our history. This ability is at present particularly important. We all have seen that we live now as we work. But we want to live better. Therefore, we must work better. Because even the most beautiful plans may simply turn into words if they are not followed by real deeds. The active participation of the Komsomol and young people helps also at present settle problems as acute as those of housing, of the production of consumer goods, and of the development of the service sphere. The priority task facing also Komsomols at higher schools and scientific research institutions is to increase young people's part in accelerating scientific-technological progress.

Talented young people are needed everywhere, and things have to be organized in such a way as to provide them with every assistance and to insure their constant influx, above all to spheres determinant for restructuring. It must be borne in mind that everyone, irrespective of his or her job, has to be without fail a professional in the best sense of this word.

In brief, no matter what aspect of Komsomol life we contemplate, the main criterion of work lies today in the real contribution toward restructuring. You have probably noticed that this was precisely the way the CPSU Central Committee set the task for the Leninist All - Union Communist Youth League.

As is known, Comrades, personality is to a large extent being shaped at school. A thorough school reform is now in progress. Nearly 25,000 young specialists are pouring each year in the republic's schools alone. We pin our great hopes on these reinforcements.

It is highly important at present to find such forms and methods of work performed in common by party and Komsomol, teachers and pupils' organizations that would help democratize public education, that would keep abreast with the times, and would increase the influence of school on the younger generation's education. After all, it is not a secret that the engagement of students and pupils in real undertakings is being frequently substituted for slogans and declarations.

Of course, students and pupils must not only be more trusted, but also must be presented with the appropriate requirements. Because there is nothing more deplorable than a half-educated young person who has picked up all sort of things, but only, as they say, superficially, and yet has failed to learn what was actually needed. This person will be unhappy all his life, will be unable to express himself in a real way, and will be useless both to himself and to society.

At the same time it is to be borne in mind that the process of learning implies obstinate and persistent work, and only work can produce appropriate results. And as long as you are young, as long as your memory is fresh and your energies not dissipated, learn, because knowledge is strength. Young people will be able to discharge their historic mission in restructuring only when they master the wealth accumulated by human civilization.

Here is another point. It is now unthinkable to speak about young people without touching upon patriotic and internationalist education.

Our people have created a great and powerful state. And the first and foremost task facing young people is to strengthen the international prestige of our country, to defend it in a reliable way, and to struggle for peace, the security of peoples, and social progress. The sacred duty of every young man and woman is to be a patriot of his homeland.

Indissoluble are also the notions of a Komsomol and an internationalist. Were soldiers who discharged their internationalist duty in Afghanistan not a convincing example of this? Allow me on behalf of all those present here to greet and to thank those remarkable boys for their courage and selflessness, for their lofty combat feat.

Quite right are Komsomol committees who engage internationalist soldiers in educational work. The republic-level rally of reserve soldiers, which was held in Sevastopol last summer, drew up a good program for the intensified military and internationalist education of the younger generation. Efforts have to be made to implement this program.

As you know, in recent times ethnic relations in individual regions of the country have become more complex. The shortcomings and miscalculations incurred in the pursuit of the nationality policy have at present, under the conditions of glasnost and democratization, come to light and become aggravated. We discussed this issue in detail at the most recent plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The political and ideological situation in our republic is sound. It contributes toward the successful accomplishment of all tasks connected with restructuring and accelerating.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's party organizations are putting into effect an extensive program to improve internationalist education, and to more fully meet the national, cultural, and ethnic needs of national groups living in the republic. A great deal has also been done to enable young people to more fully master our historical heritage.

Native-Russian bilingualism is developing, and in particular the application sphere of the Ukrainian language, which had been groundlessly narrowed, is widening on the basis of the democratic principle of free choice.

In this connection I would like to call your attention to the fact that ethnic relations permeate our entire everyday life, and that they continuously and hourly take shape in every social cell. After all, most of our collectives and even many families are multinational. For this reason the creation of sound ethnic conditions to a large extent depends on ourselves. Anyhow, it is important always to bear in mind that nationalism and chauvinism are two faces of the same medal, because the free development of nations and nationalities is incompatible with national isolation, with disrespect and arrogance with regard to other peoples.

The great Leninist behest particularly topical at present is to strengthen friendship among our country's people and to foster internationalism.

The next point. We all can see how much more drastically moral problems are being posed at present. And this is only natural. After all, the moral improvement of society is a highly important part of restructuring. Of course, it is particularly important in application to the youth milieu.

As is known, even in the initial period of Soviet rule the Komsomol was in the forefront of the struggle against illiteracy, for mastering socialist culture, for a sound way of life, against drunkenness and other antisocial phenomena. Just recall village reading rooms, agitation brigades, and many other striking things recorded in the history of the Komsomol. Tasks for moral education are now even more many-sided. In intensifying and improving this work, we should continuously bear in mind that our main enemy in this field is apathy. This is precisely the ground for free-ride mentality, a consumer attitude toward life, immorality, and other ugly phenomena.

A very serious shortcoming in the work performed by Komsomol committees, in my opinion, lies in the fact that this work is still oriented for the most part toward the most active young people. But if we only work with the best ones, we will not be able to make a serious progress in education. It is very important for the Komsomol to reach down to every young person, above to all those who require particular attention: who violate discipline, disregard law and order, like to drink, shun work, and so forth.

With a good organization of young people's free time, many negative phenomena could have been precluded. Let us be frank: Young people, and primarily teenagers, are frequently left to their own resources or, even worse, to the backyard and to doubtful company. Komsomol committees are far from being always abreast of young

people's interests, inadequately influence their shaping, and occasionally even adapt themselves to those who follow cultural patterns which are alien to us and by far not the best.

We have many clubs and sports premises. But very frequently there is not even a trace of restructuring in their activity. And it is so, to a large extent, because the Komsomol, trade unions, cultural institutions, and sports organizations have thus far failed to unite their efforts in organizing leisure time.

Certainly, leisure must not be regarded as the most important thing in young people's lives. But such a misinterpretation does occur, and even often. Discussions about discotheques, fashions, and rock festivals somehow shift problems concerning jobs, training, and participation in public actions to the background.

In the final account, all these omissions result in the moral deformation of the personality. In the present youth milieu we observe with concern the lack of universal human qualities as immemorial as goodness, compassion, and respect for older people. Every day a young man meets children and elderly people who need attention, who frequently happen to be helpless in a complex situation. Not to pass by, to overcome indifference, and to shape in each young man and woman high moral qualities—these are also at present the features of the most authentic restructuring. And in this respect the Komsomol has good traditions. Just recall the Timur movement.

In a word, the Komsomol is urged to wage an active struggle to enable young people to grow up morally pure and noble in the full sense of this word.

It goes without saying that the Komsomol should also take care of the younger generation's physical development and health. On this occasion I would like to cordially congratulate our remarkable athletes who in a worthy manner represented our homeland at the Olympic games.

Here is one point more. Democratization and glasnost have resulted in the growing social and political activity of young people and of their various spontaneous associations. This is good. But we must not turn a blind eye to something else. What we can see is that some young men and women not only renounce the past in an indiscriminate way, but also are confronted, I would say, with some sort of collapse of their ideals. For this reason it is important at present not simply to establish the manifestations of apathy and political indifference in certain—even if comparatively small—sectors of young people, but also to vigorously fight for every young man and woman. But it is necessary to see things realistically: Elements alien to our way of life, accidentally brought

into the cells of young people's organism which is, on the whole, healthy, cannot be eradicated and washed away over night. It is essential to work painstakingly, persistently, and purposefully.

Under the conditions of democratization and glasnost, it is particularly important to provide young people with clear political guidelines. What is needed here are not only correct slogans. Komsomol activists are expected to be able to substantiate their points of view, and to defend them in a brilliant and persuasive way. All that calls for deep insight into the ideological processes taking place in the youth milieu, and for a wider application of work forms based on an intensive communication and an active dialogue with young people.

We can see perfectly that the quality and effectiveness of the work performed by Komsomol organizations are largely determined by the level of party leadership. And this level is still inadequate. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee prompts the republic's party organizations to resolutely give up small-minded guardianship, prohibitions, and snubs. We proceed from the assertion that what the Komsomol needs the most are confidence, encouragement to Komsomol independence and initiative, and purposeful practical assistance. This is the only way to accomplish the outstanding tasks by common efforts.

I hope, comrades, you will excuse the obvious critical digression in this discussion on the occasion of the jubilee. But we must always bear in mind Lenin's dictum that the best way to commemorate a jubilee is to concentrate on outstanding tasks.

We are confident that the Ukraine's Komsomol will successfully restructure its activity in line with the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and that it will be for our party, as always, a reliable reserve and assistance.

Receive our deep respect and the best wishes. [passage omitted]

The participants in the meeting inspected the stands of a permanent exhibition showing youth newspapers and journals published in the Ukraine, and editions of the "Molod" publishing house under the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee which issues each year an average of 140 books with a total circulation of 5 million copies. They familiarized themselves with the main lines of work performed by the "Progress" city center for young people's scientific and technical creativity. The center is expected this year to produce 900 scientific research, experimental planning, technical, and designing elaborations.

Medvedev, Abalkin View Modern Socialism
LD0411112388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1415 GMT 3 Nov 88

["Socialism and Young People" presented by editor Andrey Zuyev]

[Text] [Zuyev] At the recent international scientific conference, "Topical Problems of the Development of Modern Socialism," there was a broad discussion of youth issues. We shall return to this theme a bit later, but to start with here is a bit about the course of the conference as a whole.

Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, discussing certain problems of forming a modern concept of socialism, dwelled on the role of social scientists in this process.

[Begin Medvedev recording] Social science provided certain critical assessments and certain constructive ideas for restructuring. But it must be said right out that on the whole it was, nevertheless, unprepared for the changes that had become due. It was affected by the long years of the domination of dogmatic and apologist thinking, stagnation in creative thinking, and its turning aside from real and vital problems toward scholastic theorizing.

Of course, we shall tackle the tasks of restructuring without waiting until theoretical projects [proyekty] are created on all of its details. But things will go considerably better and more efficiently, with less strain and mistakes, if it has more fully elaborated theoretical foundations [osnovy] and is illuminated by the light of scientific thought.

There is one more aspect of the matter which prompts us today to urgently raise the question of renewing the concept of socialism. This is the ideological aspect. Of late the party has managed to create in society a totally different ideological atmosphere—an atmosphere of openness and glasnost, of freedom and opinion. The cleansing gale of criticism has helped us to see many contemporary problems, to understand the dramatic changes of history, its difficult and tragic pages, to feel the scale and depth of the tasks that have to be tackled.

But criticism on its own is not enough. You will not solve problems by criticism alone. People need constructive ideas, a vision of the aim that we are moving toward. In order that the people's energy that has been aroused by the party should give the necessary results, it is important to give replies to questions that are worrying society: What sort of social structure do we wish to see coming out of the crucible of restructuring? What are we calling on people to act on behalf of?

In short, social scientists are faced with work of vast scale and importance. To meet the demands of the times means to give the correct assessment and analysis of the very deep changes in scientific-technical, economic, social, political, and ideological factors of modern development and the emerging processes and trends and to rethink, on this basis, many former ideas and stereotypes. [end recording]

[Zuyev] In his report Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev called attention to the fact that socialism is faced with the problem of a new historic challenge. What is the essence of this challenge? Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, director of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, expressed his point of view on this.

[Begin Abalkin recording] If the existing forms of the organization of social life, methods of management, and political and ideological institutions are preserved, this task will not be accomplished. They have proven that they are incapable. Further, they are capable of creating powerful stimuli, previously unknown in history, to man's social, economic, and moral activity. But only under one condition: if they put people in the position of real matters at their enterprise, in production, and in the country. There is no other way using historically tried methods to create more powerful stimuli to resolve economic, scientific-technical, and social tasks.

Therefore, the task we face is to find those forms and methods—reorganizing property relations and the forms of realizing property, planning and economic incentives, developing markets, and other methods—to find the combination of conditions, forms, and methods that put people in the position of genuine masters in production and in the country, and thus to put in motion these powerful accelerators of social progress.

I would like to add to this reply that socialism is capable of solving this dilemma, of harmonizing these two elements which are hard to reconcile, as long as it embraces within itself and within its organizational forms all the best things that have been accumulated by human civilization throughout its historical development. [end recording]

[Zuyev] Speaking about the changes that are taking place in our society, we single out contemporary economic reform as being the most important. Its first stage consists of not only restructuring, but also a radical break in economic thinking from the level of the worker to that of the minister, and the inculcation of a new type of economic thinking. What type of economy do we want to arrive at as a result of the transformation, the economic reforms, and the improvement of socialist production relations? This is what Academician Abel Gezevich Aganbegyan, director of the Institute of Economics and the Organization of Industrial Production thinks about this:

[Begin Aganbegyan recording] The state of our economy, in which for the time being it is the producers that dictate, is linked above all with the economic mechanism that existed for many decades in the old administrative form and led to the deformation of the economy. For this reason the structure of our economy, even if we switch over to a new economic mechanism, is not sufficiently oriented in its present form to the satisfaction of public demand and must change fundamentally, gradually moving toward matching society's requirements. We are producing a great deal simply for no purpose, in response to fictitious requirements. For example, we are producing almost six times as many tractors as the United States, while crops production is about 30-40 percent lower. Moreover, we do not intend to use these tractors, because we are producing for these tractors half as many tractor-mounted and towed implements. From the very start we are consigning them to be left unused. A breakdown of communication has occurred between production and real requirements. Now that kolkhozes and sovkhozes are switching over to self-financing and financial autonomy, they refuse to take some of the agricultural equipment produced in the USSR, including tractors and combines that were not really designed to satisfy requirements.

How can this be? This can happen when fictitious requirements are followed, when manufacturing breaks away from the needs of consumers. Many such examples could be cited over a range of consumer items, across many types of means of production. To transform a shortage economy into a non-shortage economy is the first, most important policy direction. It is connected with both a fundamental transformation of the economic mechanism and above all the development of the market. It is linked also with the new, centralized, investment structural policy and structural transformations in the economy. To a very high degree, it is connected with our entire financial system and the flow of monetary exchange, with setting it up to function in accordance with a turnover of material values, and so on. [end recording]

[Zuyev] One of the most important themes today is the social essence of restructuring in our country. Restructuring should lead to a transfer of power from the excessively overgrown bureaucratized strata of management officials to democratically elected representatives of the people. Such is the intention, such is the political strategy. Academician Tatyana Ivanovna Zaslavskaya, director of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic questions of the AUCCTU and USSR State Committee for Labor, accented attention on this problem.

[Begin Zaslavskaya recording] There are many thousands of informal organizations, movements, and association of social initiatives springing up in the country and developing extensive activities. A considerable number of these are of a political hue. These organizations and movements are entering into relations with each

other, developing political discussions, uniting, splitting, and cooperating. All of this shows one thing: that the political energy of the masses is growing.

The working people are speaking out more and more resolutely for restructuring and the renaissance of socialist values. They are less frequently satisfied with the role of passively being managed; they are more frequently striving for independent actions and conscious participation in the transformation of society. In these conditions, the reform started from above is acquiring real chances of being transformed into a genuinely people's revolution.

If one takes into account that our society has already been through two bourgeois-democratic and one socialist revolution, then it is obvious that one can now speak only about a second socialist revolution. Although this still sounds unusual, there is nothing out of the ordinary in this situation. The social class struggle is not simple. The revolutionary classes not only win victories in it but also suffer defeats. Over the course of a certain amount of time they gain in strength and begin a renewed offensive to complete the transformation of society that has begun and open up new prospects for its development. [end recording]

[Zuyev] The main aim of the international conference, "Topical Problems of the Development of Modern Socialism" was to analyze the processes of restructuring. Socialism as a social structure, and particularly in recent years, had begun to lose its attraction for the international workers movement. A threat that it would be pushed aside into a secondary position in the world arose. This situation was analyzed in detail at the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress.

The time had come: A very acute need for change had arisen. Change is impossible without the broad masses. No small role in the success of this is played by young people. Young people also come up against a mass of problems during restructuring. But knowledge of the painful areas is a very sure condition for putting right the situation. The work at the conference of a roundtable on socialism and youth was a sort of attempt to reveal painful areas in youth issues.

Author Nina Andreyeva Interview on Restructuring
AU0311141588 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
30 Oct 88 p 6

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Nina Andreyeva, Master of Science and lecturer at the Leningrad Institute of Technology, by Bogoljub Lacmanovic, "The CPSU Is Not the Party of Restructuring"; date and place not given]

[Text] Nina Andreyeva, the author of the world famous letter "I Cannot Renounce Principles," which after being published on 13 March this year in the newspaper

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, seriously undermined restructuring and Gorbachev and which was later condemned by PRAVDA as a "manifesto of the conservatives," made several conditions before she gave an interview to VJESNIK. After the first telephone call, she asked for "24 hours to think it over." The next day she gave an affirmative answer over telephone, but she asked for the questions to be forwarded the same evening. "I will give written replies to your questions," she said and mentioned that I should come to Leningrad for the replies.

At her own wish, the meeting was organized in a way that would have suited some other time that has passed in the USSR. I suggested that we meet in a restaurant, in her home, or at the faculty, but she agreed to none of these. She decided on a meeting in the street, for a meeting in front of the main entrance of the Lower Park [Donji Park] in Petrodvorec not far from Leningrad. She dictated my movements around Leningrad up to our meeting as precisely as possible. "We will meet at 1500. Before that you will get into a suburban electric train at the Baltic railroad station and ride for 40 minutes until the Novi Peterhof station. There you will get onto a bus.... I will wait for you at the entrance of the Lower Park. I am 167 centimeters tall, I have dark hair, and I will be wearing a green leather coat."

When we finally met, she did not agree to be photographed: "I am not photogenic. I have chosen two of my photographs which were taken 1 month ago and I will give them to you when we get to the apartment." In the apartment we were welcomed by her husband, also a university professor of philosophy, who emphatically repeated several times: "I was with the typist, who is copying the interview, 5 minutes ago." After she had looked over the interview and kept a copy for herself, Nina Aleksandrovna gave it to me under the conditions that all her answers were published in their entirety and without corrections which could effect the style or the meaning of her answers.

Because of the length of her answers, about 17 typed sides with spacing, we nevertheless reached agreement (in writing!) that I could shorten the answers to the first and ninth questions in which she dealt with the circumstances of the appearance of her text "I cannot renounce principles" and in which she presented her biography. I decided to exclude her answers which dealt with her views on Stalin since they had nothing new to say other than what she had already said in the aforementioned letter. She reiterated that "denigration of Stalin's work and making it stupid is dishonest and damaging for the country and the Soviet people," adding that it is "becoming more obvious today that lurking behind the attacks on Stalin was the main aim of criticism of Lenin." She requested that I show the interview to no one in the USSR before its publication in VJESNIK.

All Nina Andreyeva's conditions were met and VJESNIK readers have her first political interview before them.

"My Fears Were Confirmed"

[Lacmanovic] Nina Aleksandrovna, it can be concluded from your famous article "I Cannot Renounce Principles" that you are afraid that the policy and practice of restructuring [Russian word perestroika] is disorienting Soviet youth. Do you think that the situation in the USSR has improved since the spring when your letter was published or that this disorientation has widened and deepened?

[Andreyeva] In the last one-half year, the development of events in the ideological life of our country have confirmed all my fears and one should sincerely thank PRAVDA for helping many people to better understand and perceive how in our country, under the conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost, groups are clearly arising whose social demands and aims openly deviate from the basic interests of the workers class and the wider worker strata, and this also means they deviate from restructuring as well regardless of what they have praised to the skies. Under the conditions of restructuring, social thinking and the mass media have done a certain job in the definition and development of the theory of scientific socialism. However, the number of cases is increasing where Lenin's theoretical legacy is being distorted and a malicious shadow is being cast on the basic foundations and values which were developed in the battle for socialism. Some "rulers of thought" in the mass media denounce the socialist character of our social system, casting doubt on the historical correctness of the choice of the socialist path, waging war to weaken the ruling party and the workers class in restructuring, turning culture into universal kitsch, diluting the basic principles of the scientific proletarian ideology of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. It is natural that the youth will be disoriented most of all by the cult of enrichment, the propaganda of the multi-party system, the denigration of the Soviet past, petty bourgeois pacifism, the stoking of nationalism and many other things that cause the Soviet people to be deeply concerned.

[Lacmanovic] Your latest letter, which was recently published by MOSKOVSKIE NOVOSTI, shows that you do not in the least regret the publication of your article in the spring which has caused a strong political reaction and which was called "the manifesto of conservative forces." Why? What are your reasons for this?

[Andreyeva] I really do not in the least regret the publication of my letter in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. It described the situation that has arisen in our country. I have so far received 3,000 collective and individual letters from readers. About 90 percent of these share my view and assessment, and they support my view with arguments and proofs which it is not desirable to publish in our press nowadays. Judging by their letters, those who reject my attitudes are generally the relatives of former kulaks and persecuted people who still feel insulted. Speaking humanely, their position is clear, but I want to stress that, from the letters I have received, it

seems that a great number of those who suffered in the time of the personality cult also support my views. The others who greeted my article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in an aggressive way are resentful nationalists, mainly zionists or people who in advance rejected socialism in the past, present, and future. It is noticeable that their basic "arguments" have been put forward by the "spiritual leaders" whose publications, according to M. S. Gorbachev, "push us onto another way."

I receive letters every day and not just from my countrymen. I have received many letters from the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, Italy, the United States, and Japan. They are all different in content but they all bear witness to international interest in the processes in our country. In the last half-year I have been visited by more than 500 comrades from different areas who have wanted to discuss their views with me. Conversations with them have led to the conclusion that my letter in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA touched on the most important questions of the sociopolitical entity which the most active "spiritual leaders" wanted to hush up.

The Contents of the Second Letter

[Lacmanovic] I suppose that you presented these questions of socialism and communism that are important to you in the letter that you sent this summer to the 19th conference of the CPSU. What did this letter contain and do you think that it will be published?

[Andreyeva] This letter is an open letter. It has been sent to several editorial boards and its publication is a matter of the party conscience of the chief editors. In practical terms, no one has explained to me why this letter should not be published, since its content only relates to the consideration of theses for the 19th party conference. A few words on this.

I want to stress above all that the 19th All-Union party conference laid the foundations for another coil of the spirals of restructuring which seeks its own ideological support and which wants to put on the agenda solutions to the most difficult questions of the dialectic of inheritance and the development of our society both in theory and practice. I think that not only the destiny of our homeland but also the further development of the international communist and workers movement will depend on how correct these solutions will be.

I stressed (in this letter) that no space was found in the theses for the 19th party conference for the fixing of the communist perspective of the country. Our party is the Communist party of the Soviet Union, and not in any way the party of the restructuring of the USSR. It cannot enter the waters of Bernstein's concept and his revisionist followers which is contained in the formula "the aim means nothing, the movement is everything." It is well-known that Lenin continually sought to ensure that, in

the resolution of any problem of the revolutionary transformation, society should always bear in mind the general aim of Communism. Therefore, as we know, he did not look on Communism as a faraway final aim and as a general historical orientation in the creative activities of workers, but as a general criterion for Communists in carrying out political, economic, moral, ideological, and cultural tasks. In other words, only that which serves the communist perspective of the country is acceptable and useful. In line with this, questions are considered in the program of the CPSU and the version of the program that was adopted at the 27th party congress.

As the principle and serious shortcoming of the theses, I pointed out that they represented the social structure of society in a biased and incomplete way. It is well-known that at the time of the slowdown (the era of the reign of Brezhnev, remark by Bogoljub Lacmanovic) millionaires appeared in our country who, according to the press, number more than 100,000. They grew up with a corrupt bureaucracy and they already represent a particular stratum of Soviet society which is distinguished by its interests, demands, psychology, morality, and ideology, which is in truth still totally unformulated. Objectively speaking, their ideology is formulated by the representatives of bourgeois liberalism who have been very active in recent years. With restructuring, the Soviet millionaires have consolidated their position in society, they have legalized the bourgeois way of living, stimulated deideologization, demoralization, and the deestheticization [deestetizacija] of social consciousness and culture, aroused nationalist passions, and have been active in taking part in cooperative businesses which often serve to legalize illegally obtained money. They advocate the cult of the easy way of getting rich, press for lower inheritance taxes, consider the main tenets of restructuring to be the "question of power," and give advice about whom should get or be deprived of something. The representatives of bourgeois liberalism vociferously fight to share out the party among the people and various mass organizations.

It is paradoxical, as I have already pointed out, but there are also some millionaires among the CPSU members. In connection with this I proposed the introduction of a party-maximum income limit for party members ("party maximum" [Russian word "partmaksimum"]—salary limit, remark by Bogoljub Lacmanovic) which would in such cases act as a protective screen on the road toward the pollution of party ranks. It is well-known that at one time the introduction of this party maximum together with the party purge played a positive role in the party of Bolsheviks and in this sense against aspirations of some members of the party leadership to acquire personal wealth. Many people do not know that the fees collected from the publication of the speeches, articles, studies, and collection of works of Stalin, Kalinin, Kirov, Bukharin, Molotov, and other leaders went into the party cash box. The Stalin award used to be paid out of the proceeds. Toward the end the 1950's such awards started to be paid out from the money collected by the state in

terms of fines. In fact, the party maximum should be sufficiently high to ensure a material interest in work and sensibly limited to prevent the members of the CPSU of—having their own model of "communism" in mind—becoming millionaires.

In my letter I also raised among other things the questions of the justification of an increase in retail prices for basic foodstuffs, separating the elections of party committees and their secretaries, the essence of socialist democracy and glasnost, the class-party approach to the question of the education of the population, the danger of the rightist opportunist attacks on the Soviet revolutionary process, and a series of other problems of internal and foreign policy of the CPSU in the modern development.

In polemics with theater artist M. Ulanov, Gorbachev acknowledged a remark contained in my letter at the party conference. However, since the letter has not been published yet, I assume that it will not be.

"Modest Results in the Economy"

[Lacmanovic] The situation in the majority of socialist countries is today characterized by aspirations for a comprehensive democratization of society, glasnost, and the expansion of the role of the market in the economy. What do you think about this and what should socialism be in your opinion?

[Andrejeva] The socialist world has indeed never been characterized by such a stormy dynamics. At the same time I think that in studying mutual experiences and practice one must not be euphoric and remain just within the horizon of only the positive aspects of this practice. One should not concentrate only on the experiences of European socialist countries either. There are many interesting elements in the practice of the CPC and the DPRK where numerous questions are solved in a different way than in Europe, and sometimes with better results.

Second, in my view democratization and glasnost are not discussed in our media as a way or means of overcoming the problem of the development of the socialist society, but as the single, priority aim of restructuring. In contrast to economic aims, the aims of glasnost were fulfilled, if not overfulfilled, a long time ago. Economic results are considerably more modest.

Third, I think that, in analyzing somebody else's practice, it would be particularly useful to analyze the negative results much more. For instance, we, Soviet readers, do not know why Hungary's foreign debt exceeds \$9 billion, why 30 percent of enterprises are making losses, why the annual rate of increase in national income is only 1 percent while that of inflation is 7 percent, and why prices are rising. Moreover, we have not sufficiently analyzed the serious difficulties in the economy of Yugoslavia, which has over a million unemployed, a huge

foreign debt, mass strikes by those in employment, and high inflation. Are decentralization in the management of the economy and the introduction of a form of commodity-money relations in these countries not the main reasons for this? Lenin wrote that a "direct or indirect legalization of workers' ownership over some factories or professions for separate production is total distortion of socialism. These rights either weaken or hinder the decisions of the state authorities." I wonder whether in our country the advice of the organizer of the Soviet state is always considered?

What socialism should be was presented in our Communist Party Program. Without repeating the tenets of the CPSU Program and its revised version that was adopted at the 27th Congress, I will only say what I consider to be the most important. The basic characteristic of socialist society is: "Everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man." In brief, socialism is a society in which the needs of the workers class are above everything else, a society in which the working man has every conditions for his physical, moral, and cultural development, a society in which conditions for his work and life are really and essentially improving, where all the changes in society are directed toward an improvement of these conditions, where the purchasing power of the population is continuously rising, and where a reduction in social inequality should not suit general equalitarianism, but the general development of the workers masses. Socialism is a society of workers who manage life activities themselves, a society in which the communist perspective of the development of society, people, and work is not lost even for a minute. One could say much more about this, but what I have said reflects the historic essence of socialism as the first stage on the way to communism.

[Lacmanovic] In his essay "Ideals and Interests" published this year in the first two issues of the monthly NOVYI MIR, the respectable Moscow publicist Andrey Nuykin wrote about the existence of dual power [dvovlasce] in the USSR. People in Moscow now talk about the existence of three possible variants in the development of events in the USSR: a return to neo-Stalinism; enlightened liberalism as opposed to anarchy; and restructuring.

[Andreyeva] First of all, I do not share the views of A. Nuykin, or the author of the "three variants." In contrast to them, I agree with M. S. Gorbachev who stated (published in his selected speeches and articles in 1987) that the terms "Stalinism" and "neo-Stalinism" were invented by the opponents of communism who are widely using them to besmirch the USSR and socialism as a whole.

Moreover, I, like the majority of Soviet citizens, proceed from the fact that restructuring does not have an alternative, that there is no return to the period of slowdown. The only question is which road will restructuring take: the road of developing and improving the socialist

principles of conducting economic activities and socialist democratization of society, or the road of petty bourgeois degeneration and decay? This is the central issue in my article "I cannot renounce principles." The public information media often wrongly confuse the battle between socialist and non-socialist elements as the battle between the advocates and opponents of restructuring.

Recently, during the presentation of the FRG's "Karpinski" [name as published] award in Leningrad, academician T. Zaslavskaya, president of the Soviet Sociological Society, gave a speech "Restructuring as Revolution." "Restructuring" has been invited to fundamentally change the basis of the sociopolitical structure and to ensure the principled redistribution of power, rights, and freedoms among social classes and strata." She is not satisfied with social compromises and advocates the need for "real group conflicts," obviously of the strikers' battle type. Zaslavskaya considers the stratum of small entrepreneurs to be restructuring's allies. Why only "small" entrepreneurs? Are there not many thousands of millionaires in our country who are closely linked with the corrupt elements of bureaucracy and the world of organized crime, and are increasingly imposing on society their psychology of enrichment and the bourgeois model of consumption and culture?

The only remaining thing is to ask academician Zaslavskaya how she herself is preparing to fundamentally change the socioeconomic basis of our society, and who is going to benefit from the "principled redistribution" of the power, rights, and freedoms of the Soviet people? The term "socialism" plays the role of a fig leaf for our leading sociologist.

If this refers to socialism as the first stage on the road to communism that was developed and is defended through the battles in one-sixth of the globe, then this is indeed "a serious matter and not a game." It is no accident at all that Zaslavskaya demands "that the activities against restructuring be legally prevented." This could mean anything, depending on your wishes and imagination. Why do we then need glasnost and democracy? This is what the balance of power is in our country.

Trotsky Pictured Among Lenin 'Associates'

PM0411153188 [Editorial Report] Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian 3 November 1988 carries on page 2 under the headline "They Made the Revolution" a photo montage covering one-third of the page (5x5 inches) depicting Lenin and other revolutionary leaders. Trotsky's picture is immediately to the right of Lenin's. Stalin is not pictured. The picture is accompanied by the following text:

"An original 1920 publication entitled 'October' issued in honor of the 3d anniversary of the socialist revolution was recently discovered and displayed at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. The

photo montage 'Makers of the Revolution,' depicting V.I. Lenin surrounded by his closest associates—61 people in all—is of exceptional value.

"Row 1 (from the top)—N.P. Komarov, G.A. Kuklin, N.N. Kuzmin, N.I. Podvoyskiy, Ts.N. Avrov, A.M. Kollontay, D. Bednyy, A.Ye. Badayev, I.L. Sudakov, I.P. Bakayev.

"Row 2—N.M. Antselovich, V.A. Avanesov, A.I. Balabanova, M.M. Litvinov, V.I. Nevskiy, M.F. Vladimirskiy, A. Lozovskiy, Yu.M. Steklov.

"Row 3—M.A. Trilisser, E.M. Sklyanskiy, N.K. Krupskaya, Yu. Larin, A.S. Yenukidze, G.V. Tsyperovich, M.P. Tomskiy, Mitrofanov, V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich, Ye.P. Pervukhin.

"Row 4—N.N. Krestinskiy, Ye.G. Yevdokimov, M. Gorkiy, N.A. Semashko, Zorin, A.I. Rykov, V.V. Shmidt, D.I. Kurskiy.

"Row 5—A.G. Shlyapnikov, Z.I. Lilina, Ye.D. Stasova, L.B. Krasin, S.N. Ravich, M.M. Lashevich, C. Zetkin, L.M. Karakhan.

"Row 6—Bela Kun, A.A. Ioffe, G.Ye. Zinovyev, V.I. Lenin, L.D. Trotskiy, K.B. Radek, G.V. Chicherin.

"Row 7—L.B. Kamenev, A.V. Lunacharskiy, M.I. Kalinin, F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, Kh.G. Rakovskiy, N.I. Bukharin.

"Row 8—R. Luxemburg, V. Volodarskiy, Ya.M. Sverdlov, K. Liebknecht, M.S. Uritskiy."

Letter of Stalinism Victim Requests Compensation
AU0311152988 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA
in Ukrainian 26 Oct 88 p 2

[Letter to the editor: "Who Were Our Executioners?"]

[Text] The RADYANSKA UKRAINA article entitled "Where is That Street Then," which correctly raised the question of renaming some streets, has reopened old sores in my heart. I did not request Donetsk Gorispolkom to rename Mekhlis and Zhdanov Streets, but fully seconded the veterans who did. Moreover, a new name should also be found for the city district named after Voroshilov.

As we all know, in the years of Stalinism these public figures were responsible for repressions and stained their conscience with the blood of innocent victims, of honest and blameless people. It is impossible to forget that. And since we all, the entire country led by the party, have chosen the line of restructuring, of cleansing our lives from the effects of the cult of Stalin and his hangmen, we must not forget anything. The reason I am saying this is that I was among those who happened to enjoy the "kind" attention of the "father of peoples," and it was

only by a miracle that I remained alive. After all, of every 100 inmates of Kolyma, only 2 or 3 survived. My lot was typical of that generation decimated by firing squads and tormented in Kolyma camps.

I come from Lebedin, in Sumy Oblast. In response to the nationwide call, I joined the aviation service. A party member since 1930, I was secretary of a squadron party organization in Zhitomir aviation brigade. I went through the 1933 purge and, when arrested in 1937, I was a squadron technician whose honest and blameless service consistently gained the command's acknowledgement. And yet I was accused of complicity with Polish spies and of spreading rumors about the 1933 famine in the Ukraine. I was not a spy, and did not say anything about the famine, although I myself and all my colleagues had seen the horrible pictures of the famine when at Zhitomir railway station people were swelling up and dying of starvation by the hundreds.

I was sentenced by a team of three in accordance with Article 58, as they say, without any court hearing or investigation. To be more specific, there was an investigation, but it was a parody of the administration of justice.

In Zhitomir prison, I was one of the 160 crammed into cell No 8, which was intended for 8 prisoners. We were standing pressed up against each other. Five or six died every day. The bodies were not removed immediately, and so they continued to stand because there was no room for them to fall down.

Then we were transported under guard to Vladivostok. In transit camps we were called out by alphabet to be told how long each of us had to serve. I got 7 years.

I was taken to Kolyma. I cannot recall that calmly. I am nearly 80. I have had two heart attacks, and every recollection of those times causes pain in my heart. To be more exact, I carry this pain constantly, because it has never stopped. The conditions in the "Shturmovaya" and the "Burkhala" mines under the northern ore mining administration were horrible. There were executions by shooting, cruelties, and hunger. They had nothing whatsoever to do with the ideals for the sake of which true Leninist Bolsheviks accomplished the revolution. At Kolyma, I saw the wives and children of prominent party figures and statesmen. In Vladivostok transit camp, I met Postyshev's son, Viktor. He said that his mother was also there. I remember having met Hlushko in the "Burkhala" mine; he was military attache under Primakov in England. I will never forget the desperate sobbing of the Kremlin physician, Ivanov. Like myself, none of them could believe that this could happen to us, in our own country, under people's rule. Many of us then began to see things clearly, but it was impossible to do anything.

For failure to cope with the daily quota—to wheel out of the pit 200 to 250 barrows full of gold-bearing ore—the inmates used to be delivered up "to the mosquitoes,"

that means stripped and exposed to the stings of blood-thirsty midges, and then sent to the so-called units with aggravated conditions. It was death that awaited them there. Awful thin soup was served once a day. Dying people, roped, used to be carted, along with dead bodies, to the pit to die. People were shot dead just for entertainment. I have experienced all kinds of suffering. I do not even know how I survived, because also real criminals tormented us, used us as stakes to win or lose in gambling. We did not know anything that was going on outside. We learned about the war when the Germans were close to Kiev.

Having served my term, I was kept in Kolyma for an additional 2 years. Then, new afflictions followed. Just when it seemed I had found a job in Kharkov, a militiaman came to inform me that I would not be allowed to stay in the city. Finally, I landed in Donetsk. Here I have spent nearly 30 years working at a metallurgical plant, and for my work have repeatedly won recognition. However, even after the rehabilitation in 1960 I was frequently summoned by the "organs" to be told that what had happened to me and to the thousands of my compatriots was a state secret. If it remains a secret, something similar could occur again! This must not be forgotten, and nothing must be forgiven! Otherwise we are not human, and restructuring will fail. "Teams of three" will again make short work of honest people.

I was luckier, but even so my life was ruined; I never lived in the way I should have in my prime.

I keep a certificate dated 29 February 1960, saying that "In view of newly found evidence, the sentence passed by the military tribunal of Rifle Corps 13 on 2 November 1937, as well as the sentence passed by the military bench of the USSR Supreme Court on 5 March 1938 concerning F.V. Kovalenko have been abolished and the legal action has been terminated. F.V. Kovalenko has been rehabilitated." The writ bears the signature of Major General of Justice A. Kostromin, bench chairman in the USSR Supreme Court.

I have been rehabilitated, but some people would like to brand me again with the mark of a convict. Why? I have tried to explain, and have appealed to the authorities to end the persecution. I fully agree with all honest people who came up with the idea to build a monument to the victims of the repressions carried out by Stalin and his cohorts. However, it is essential to bear in mind not those who died, but also those who survived. This also applies to compensation that should be granted to Stalin's victims who are still living. Why do they not even now have drugs at reduced prices? Why must such people be deprived of coal and suffer from cold in their dwellings? After all, the assigned 2.5 metric tons of coal are far from sufficient. I find sympathy at the plant, people know me there and frequently assist me, but they are unable to meet all my needs. For this reason let me repeat: It is necessary to remember not only those who died, to cherish their memory in order to preclude the

repetition of this tragedy, but also to pay back, even if only a little, that which is due to those innocent victims of repression who are still alive. It is good that your paper discusses the need to cleanse our society of the phenomena which are alien to us, but it is also essential to strive for the triumph of truth in all its forms. Moreover, it is necessary to finally isolate the handful of criminals from the great Lenin's party which has been and is the leader of the people.

Yours sincerely, F. Kovalenko, labor veteran, former flight technician, CPSU member since 1930.

The city of Donetsk.

P.S.: I would like to ask—where are those who were killing and tormenting us? Why have they not been brought to the people's trial? Who defends them, and who needs them now? Are the present bureaucrats who offend the victims of repression and who treat people with contempt not their spiritual heirs? As a disabled person of Group 2 I was assigned, for example, to Branch 33 of the Kalininskiy District provision store in order to at least be able to buy a piece of meat without much effort since I am unable to stand in line. However, I enjoyed the privilege for 6 only months. Last May the assignment was canceled. I probably displeased someone else, although no one calls me a Polish spy any longer. Who is interested in this? I went to the oblispolkom, and the officials there told me that they fully sympathized with me, but were unable to help.

Reader Senses Powerlessness Under Restructuring
PM0711101588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 88 p 2

[Letter from teacher I. Radyakin: "Tell the Truth and Only the Truth..."]

[Text] Novokuznetsk—I am following attentively the progress of restructuring, but a sense of my own powerlessness rarely leaves me here.

The halfheartedness of decisions taken on high. We are emphasizing economic accountability [khozraschet] but there is no material basis for it—for instance the sale, and not the distribution, of the means of production and raw material. Ecological questions have arisen in all their magnitude and binding documents with the force of orders are adopted, yet the real results are minimal. Indeed, where could real results come from if enterprises and sectors have no economic interest in nature conservation, after all they are made answerable not for people's health but for the plan fulfillment percentage!

We speak of the democratization of the political system and we are taking real steps, but it seems to me, for instance, that the uniting of the posts of first secretary and chairman of the soviet of deputies is also more like autocracy than democracy. Perhaps I fail to understand something, but in my opinion we have already had this.

And quite recently. And again. For how long will people in our country be afraid of criticizing their top leaders? Perhaps these are trivial details. But they often have decisive importance. Yet on the whole I trust Comrade Gorbachev and I believe that he will be able to lead our country out of failure. (Believe me, I did not add that phrase "for safety's sake").

The party itself should set an example of real glasnost. It seems to me abnormal that in many respects internal work in the party organizations is "classified." And what is a "party secret" anyway? A secret from whom, from its own people? The CPSU is the sole and ruling party. Therefore everything taking place in it affects everyone—him and me. Glasnost should exist primarily within the party itself, in the Politburo, in the Central Committee, and in the primary organization. Otherwise the party will not become closer to the people and the slogan "the people and the party are united" will remain an empty sound.

Now about my own powerlessness. I can feel it almost physically in the solution of any important questions of our life. The only thing within my power is to work honestly—if I make a mistake in my work the harm will be relatively small. But when a "big," important person makes a mistake? How can I influence him as long as these people, in my opinion, are in no way dependent on ordinary people, on simple citizens? The elections of deputies are still fictitious, at any rate in our region. Leaders live their lives, in a kind of "twilight." They have their own circle of people needed for communication, their own sources of supply (I do not believe they stand in line), and their own transport, most often official transport. How can this be changed, how can we achieve a situation where they really live the life of the people? After all in the final analysis where people are to live, what kind of air there will be in the city, and what there will be in the stores largely depends on these enterprise, city, and rayon leaders. Believe me, it is not the envy of an aggrieved man in the street which is talking, no. It is simply that I cannot rest for asking the question: What can I do?

And finally one last point. Fear. I considered how to sign myself: Using a false name or only my initials...

[Signed] N. Radyakin, teacher, 24 years old

Soviet Environmental Damage Cited in FRG Study
AU0411134288 *Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT*
in German 4 Nov 88 p 15

["VWD" report: "Environmental Damage Causes Losses of Billions Every Year"]

[Text] Berlin, 3 November—In the Soviet Union, environmental pollution is increasingly recognized as one of the biggest problems of economic and social policy. According to Soviet estimates, environmental damage causes annual losses of about R50 billion.

Only one-twentieth of this sum is invested in environmental protection measures, the German Economic Research Institute (DIW), Berlin, writes in its latest weekly report. Together with the follow-up costs, expenditure for environmental protection in 1976-80 amounted to an annual average of R5 billion; now it rests at more than R10 billion.

According to Soviet reports, industrial emissions—the total of all pollutants—decreased from 70.3 million tonnes in 1980 to 64.1 million tonnes in 1987. However, there is no fairly large industrial city in which all the threshold values of the permissible concentration of pollutants in the air—following WHO recommendations—are observed.

According to Fedor Morgun, chairman of the State Committee for Environmental Protection, in 102 cities with 50 million inhabitants the legally fixed norms are surpassed tenfold or more at times. In Norilsk, a city in northern Siberia, industrial emissions amounted to about 2.4 million tonnes in 1986, that is, 13 tonnes per inhabitant—a USSR record.

Great problems are caused by the waste of water in the USSR. Therefore, according to a decision of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, by 1990 unit input of water is to be reduced by 20 percent in industry and by 15 percent in agriculture and public utilities.

According to official information, almost 15 percent of an annual water extraction of more than 320 billion cubic meters is lost on the way from the site of extraction to the site of consumption, because of outdated equipment.

As an example the DIW cites the consequences for Lake Aral, whose water level has sunk by 13 meters since 1960. By 1960 water inflow into the lake amounted to more than 60 billion cubic meters; from 1981-84 it only amounted to 4 billion cubic meters per year.

Economic

TASS Reviews Soviet Economic Figures
LD0611144688 *Moscow TASS in English* 1345 GMT
6 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Afanasyev

The improvement of the country's economic situation is the main result with which the Soviet national economy meets the salient date—the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

These changes are seen above all in the fact that the Soviet economy is increasingly facing man and his needs. Statistics show that in the first nine months of this year over four billion roubles are channeled only for raising living standards of people. In 1988 an increase in real

incomes of population will nearly double as against the planned figures. A greater swing in social orientation of the economy is also seen in a substantial growth in the scale of housing, social and cultural construction and expansion of production of consumer goods. Here is only one fact: This year an increment in goods turnover will total 21.5 billion roubles. This is registered in the Soviet economy for the first time.

Economists point to growing dynamism of the Soviet national economy. This is also confirmed by the growth of national income which will amount this year to 4.6 per cent as against 2.3 per cent in 1987. Special success was registered by enterprises which switched over to full cost-accounting: They produce now 60 per cent of the entire output. But the main result of their work is evidently changes in psychology of people who become real owners of production and are directly interested in its successes.

At the session of the Soviet Parliament held late in October, many deputies pointed to the growing role of leasing, especially in agriculture where it will be, with time, one of the main forms of agricultural work. It is expected that in the near future tenants will put out at least 12-15 per cent of all agricultural produce in the country. Incidentally, now a special decision of the Soviet Government is being drafted. It will also provide a legal basis for the broadest possible use of leasing in the entire national economy of the country.

A sharp cut (by more than 90 per cent) in 1989 of rights of central planning bodies in distribution of materials and equipment can be assessed as a bright sign of democratization of management of the Soviet economy. This means greater independence and, virtually, greater responsibility of local economic executives, which will be beneficial for the entire country. Besides, this will also result in a considerable rise in wholesale trade: whereas this year it totals some 40 billion roubles, in 1989 the figure will nearly double.

However, even on holidays we should not forget about existing problems which are quite a few. The country's financial situation remains very complicated: Next year the deficit of the state budget will amount to 35 billion roubles, and the annual level of inflation will fluctuate between 0.9 and 1.5 per cent. Development rates of such important industry as machine-building are very low. The problem of providing population with food, cheap consumer goods and housing remains acute, as before.

All Soviet scientists and economists concur in the opinion that it is possible to settle these and other problems only through a radical economic reform. In this respect a special place is occupied by the year 1989 during which conditions for the appearance of a new system for running the economy should be created. The accomplishment of this aim will enable the Soviet Union to enter the last decade of the 20th century, having a powerful economic basis for perestroika.

Moscow Cooperative Plant Improves Productivity
LD0511232188 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Kirill Dibrova:

The labour productivity at the Moscow plant of low voltage equipment went up by 15 per cent over the three months that have passed since the time it was turned into a cooperative enterprise. Over the same period the enterprise turned out 400 thousand rubles worth of products over and above the usual program. This rate of growth is without precedent for the 60 years of the existence of the plant.

"The financial position of the enterprise was very unstable in the recent years," Yuriy Korolev, the cooperative's chairman, formerly the plant's director, told the TASS correspondent. "Arrears of payments reached 2.5 million rubles".

"Analyzing the plant's activity we arrived at the conclusion that cooperation is the most effective form of management, under which the interest of workers in end results increases particularly," Korolev said. "The Ministry of the Electrical Engineering Industry is now an equal partner of the plant. Relations with the ministry are governed by contract. The plant has some 2,000 suppliers and customers. Trading with them on fixed state prices, the cooperative now fulfills all contractual obligations."

Not all the workers of the enterprise are members of the cooperative. Only 420 are members. Most of the cooperative's members are workers of basic productions and plant managers. The rest 1,100 people are employed.

Every worker is given an assignment for a shift and the earnings for fulfilling the assignment are set. At the same time the worker is told how much he will lose in earnings if he fails to cope with the assignment. The initial experience indicates that this is a very effective method, as there are virtually no rejects, and the wages went up by 50 per cent reaching almost 340 rubles per month.

"We now intend to expand the production," Yuriy Korolev said. "Our enterprise is to include a similar plant in Poti, Georgia, which now operates at a loss."

There are some 35,000 cooperatives in the USSR now. They employ 700,000. Cooperatives started developing particularly after the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a law on cooperation last May. Since then their number increased more than by half as many.

Agricultural

Gorbachev Addresses Agro-Industrial Conference
PM0411120188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Priority Development for the Agro-Industrial Complex. Conference in the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] It has already been reported that a conference with leaders of central organs, ministries, and departments held in the CPSU Central Committee 2 November examined progress in the fulfillment of party and government decisions on the improvement of food supplies for the population and the acceleration of socioeconomic development and scientific and technical progress in the country's agro-industrial complex, as the paramount and most immediate task of restructuring.

The conference was opened by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He said:

Today's discussion is a continuation of our work on the development of the agro-industrial complex. There are two avenues here. On the one hand we have the elaboration of questions by the Central Committee plenum. The discussion there must be very serious in all regards—as regards the review of current problems and as regards the elaboration of long-term policy. On the other hand, it is now equally important that we all devote more and more attention to specific work.

The center of gravity must now shift to the fulfillment of adopted decisions. Otherwise, we will find ourselves in the position in which we have repeatedly found ourselves in the past. In terms of decisions, there have always been enough of them, maybe even too many of them. Yet there has been a shortage of work to implement them. Furthermore, this work is now linked with a thorough review of many of our approaches toward both the economy and the political process. This is where everyone must greatly augment his work. This requires tremendous efforts by the Central Committee, the government, and all of you—leaders of central organs, ministries, and departments. Please understand this.

Of all our problems, the problem of the agrarian sector and food supplies is the most immediate and, I would say, the most extraordinary one. If we were now to put an annual quantity of 80 kg of meat on the consumer's table, the remaining supply problems would not be as acute. Milk consumption in our country, for example, is much higher than in America. But meat shortages boost demand for milk, for all dairy products, and other products. I would even say that the shortage of meat products is a question that perturbs the whole country.

The food question is a question facing the whole country, the entire national economy and all its sectors. Take meat for example. It means feed. What does feed mean? It means harvests. And what do harvests mean? They mean fertilizers and new technology, machine systems, cadres, people's interest, and much else besides. We must resolve all these questions.

During the previous meeting in the Central Committee we discussed with local workers the restructuring of economic relations in the countryside so as to ensure that people were really interested in the results of labor, produced more, and ensured better quality of output. We will advance this process. We will have a discussion on this topic very soon with first secretaries of republic communist party central committees and of party kray-koms and obkoms.

However, comrades, the required breakthrough will not be achieved without the appropriate material and technical base, without modern technologies, without properly organized processing and storage of produce. This means that we must very powerfully advance work along all these avenues in specific terms, on the basis of decisions already adopted. We are all very much perturbed by the fact that many decisions are falling apart, remain unfulfilled, are frustrated, or are postponed until later. Once again, we have the effect of the old custom: We work for as long as we are being beaten, figuratively speaking. Let us abandon this flawed style of work.

We must especially look at our departments involved with mechanization, chemicalization, construction work, and processing. Our "defense boys" are doing well. They have drawn up some very interesting plans, some things have already been achieved, but the main work still remains to be done. I am saying this for everyone to hear: Projects in agriculture and the entire agrarian sector, everything that leads us to the solution of the food problems, must not be dragged out or postponed. Maybe something else, something equally important, will have to be pushed aside. But the food question must be solved at all costs. Do not adopt a simplistic approach toward this work. This is now the paramount question of domestic policy.

Let us proceed as follows in our exchange of opinions: Report how work is progressing, say what has been done, what has not been done, and how a particular matter will be remedied.

A report on the question under discussion was delivered by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

Having described the positive changes occurring within the agro-industrial sphere, the speaker emphasized that the growth rate of food output is clearly inadequate. It does not have a substantial effect on the growth of the

population's per capita consumption of foodstuffs because a large part of the increased output is channeled to cover the needs resulting from population growth. The potential for boosting the production of foodstuffs at local level is not fully utilized.

The speaker named the development of the processing industry as one of the main reserves. Losses here are still great. For example, the annual meat loss runs to about 1 million tonnes or almost 10 percent of total meat production in the country. Measures relating to boosting the output of dairy products are inadequately implemented. There are major shortcomings in the production and processing of horticultural produce. The potential of the subsidiary farms of industrial, construction industry, transportation, and other enterprises and institutions, of citizens' personal subsidiary farms, and of collective orcharding and market gardening is not fully utilized.

One of the reasons behind the slow growth of food output lies in anomalies in investment and structural policy. The result of these anomalies is that the material and technical base of agro-industrial complex sectors has not been comprehensively developed, and there has been an imbalance between the buildup of agricultural production and of capacities for processing it. The development of processing sectors in industry and the produce storage and transportation base was ignored. The large investments channeled into agriculture and other agro-industrial complex sectors are not yielding the proper return.

The 12th 5-Year Plan envisaged major changes in the agro-industrial complex investment policy, and especially a growth of capital investment for the development of processing sectors. Unfortunately, the speaker went on, positive changes in these sectors are occurring extremely slowly. The point is that, during the first years of the 5-year plan period, there were no proper measures to ensure the efficient utilization of allocated funds. There has been no change in the state of affairs in 1988, either. Capital investment sums amounting to R420 million were not assimilated during the first 9 months. It has become a rule that the time taken to construct processing enterprises is 2-3 times longer than the normative time period.

In the Gosplan's opinion, the Gosagroprom, the construction industry complex, and the Ministry of Grain Products must complete as soon as possible the preparation of planning estimates for the construction of processing industry enterprises due for commissioning, and must concentrate the capacities of construction and installation organizations and the material and labor resources on them. It is necessary to cover all processing industry projects by state orders. The improvement of food supplies for the population, he said, requires the adoption of immediate measures for the retooling and in-depth reconstruction of the entire processing industry,

and the storage and transportation of agricultural raw materials. The solution of this problem has been unsatisfactory for a long time now.

The main thing is this question of equipment. The need for equipment has been substantially met by imports. Under these conditions the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers took the unusual step of transferring its production to defense sectors. Specific targets were set. However, a number of ministries underestimate the importance of resolving the problem of creating a modern material and technical base for the processing industry. A number of orders for equipment deliveries by the Ministry of the Defense Industry, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, and the Ministry of Medium Machine Building were not adopted for execution in 1989.

The USSR Gosagroprom has not become really involved in the work to prepare and pass on to machine-building ministries initial demands for the creation of new machinery and sets of equipment.

One cannot fail to touch on the fact that many types of equipment manufactured in defense industry sectors are priced exceedingly high. This naturally leads to reduced demand for them.

In turn, the speaker admitted that the USSR Gosplan is failing to implement effective control over the work of industrial ministries and departments in implementing the food program targets.

The improvement of production and economic relations and the enhancing of work incentives have now been brought to the fore.

Focusing attention on production problems in no way means that the acuteness of the countryside's social problems has diminished. Unless they are resolved all other efforts will produce no tangible results. However the Food Program targets for the commissioning of housing, preschool institutions, clubs, out-patient clinics, and municipal service projects are not being fulfilled.

The principle governing the shaping of food stocks has sharply changed recently. Republics, krais, and oblasts are being set fixed targets for deliveries to union and republic stocks for the 5-year plan. Everything produced over and above these volumes remains in the area for domestic consumption. This has given local organs a free hand and there is now an interest in increasing food production, ensuring its safekeeping, and improving quality.

In conclusion, Yu.D. Maslyukov dwelled on indicators in the State Plan for 1989 recently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet session, which outlined major measures for boosting food production, improving the population's nutrition, and strengthening the agro-industrial complex' material and technical base.

The floor was given to V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the country's Gosagroprom. The strained situation with food supplies has been largely brought about by the standard of technical supply. This standard is very low, the speaker stressed. The Gosagroprom produces large shortfalls of grain, particularly feed grain. We could obtain such grain merely by doubling or tripling corn production on the irrigated land of the Volga Region, the North Caucasus, and the southern Ukraine. To do so we need intensive strains of this crop. But, unfortunately, we buy them from abroad. The speaker raised questions of the inadequate financing of agricultural science. In his opinion, not everything has been fully worked out in this area. Another point is no less important: Agricultural science has switched to economic accountability [khoz-raschet] and the question should now be posed in such a way as to ensure that farms participate in financing scientific developments.

Some 31 million tonnes of mineral fertilizer should be produced in 1990. But there is doubt about these figures. The Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers is not increasing capacity.

The question of machine system supplies is particularly acute. Of the 4,000 different types available hardly more than 2,000 have been received. We have no machine systems for the cultivation of vegetables and potatoes. The high monopolization of machinery production in the hands of one or two enterprises in the sector is particularly worrying. In the speaker's opinion enterprises should be broken up into smaller units to ensure competition between them.

Fuel expenditure in the agro-industrial complex is still high. This is linked with uneconomic engines, the large scale of the transportation of agricultural produce, and irrational shipments. The course has now been set of creating storage facilities for grain and other produce on kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and processing facilities in local areas will be expanded. These and other measures will make it possible to considerably reduce fuel expenditure and to improve production efficiency.

Turning to the development of agro-industrial complex processing sectors, V.S. Murakhovskiy noted that, through the fault of construction workers, there are many construction schedule overruns, planning institutes do not meet schedules, and equipment is supplied on an irregular basis.

The acute problems facing construction workers were discussed by A.A. Babenko, minister for construction in the Eastern regions of the USSR. Many projects, including processing industry projects, are not supplied with design estimate documentation and equipment in good time. All this disrupts their commissioning schedules

and gives rise to work being rushed and poorly carried out. In the minister's opinion, supply would be improved by establishing direct contracts between construction workers and suppliers.

In order to actually create real priorities in building agro-industrial complex installations, the USSR Gosplan must finally provide construction workers with the resources they need. Unfortunately, this is not being observed now. The minister cited the example of only 60 percent provision of means of transport being made in the 1989 plan.

N.M. Olshanskiy, USSR minister of the production of mineral fertilizers, reported that sector enterprises are striving to supply kolkhozes and sovkhoses with as much mineral fertilizer as possible—particularly the phosphorous fertilizers in shortest supply. Concerning the problem of output losses, the speaker stressed that, in order to eliminate them, the ministry has decided to build storage facilities for both liquid and solid fertilizers in local areas using the sector's capital investments. However, this important matter is not finding support from the USSR Gosagroprom.

The minister also talked about the reasons behind the slow commissioning and assimilation of new production capacities for boosting fertilizer production.

We have been unable, he stressed, to overcome the resistance put up by certain local party and soviet organs.

M.S. Gorbachev: Comrade Olshanskiy! An expression such as "overcome the resistance" needs to be more exact. I remember the time when I worked in the Stavropol area. We usually sited our productive forces on a particular ministry's "stamping ground," even if there were no people there, nobody to do the work, and ecological problems would result. One more point. As a rule, construction takes place where there are construction organizations. What kind of siting of productive forces is that? Is that the way to do business?

N.M. Olshanskiy: We realize all that, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we realize that we cannot develop any further with these technologies. We are only talking about those technologies that correspond to all today's ecological demands.

He raised the question of the need to ship output from plants in good time.

M.I. Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, mentioned the figure of R186 million in reference to the development of rural subsidiary farms in the sector. Miners are allocating this amount in capital investments to their own agrarian sector this year. In order to increase food potential, miners intend to extensively develop contract relations with farms, enterprises, and agro-industrial complex organizations. For instance, it is

planned to organize cooperatives to raise livestock, produce feed, and so forth, in conjunction with kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers. With the increase in its own food production volume the sector has started devoting greater attention to processing and storage.

Storehouses for 28,000 tonnes of vegetables and fruit and refrigerated stores are now under construction and there are plans for constructing shops for processing stockraising output.

Then the speaker dwelled on the solution to the problem of providing coal for the rural population.

In the opinion of S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, many party and government resolutions are not being fulfilled because of the lack of discipline of responsible workers both centrally and locally.

The speaker mentioned the abnormal situation whereby rural construction workers are more worried about obtaining "advantageous" sites, and not in the countryside but in rayon centers and major cities—and no struggle is being waged against this practice. He reported that in many regions of the country livestock has to wait to be slaughtered, that it is kept too long, and that there are great losses of meat, and he raised the question of the need to take urgent steps in this matter, and to put the meat trade in order.

A.S. Systsov, USSR minister of the aviation industry, described in detail the sector's program for producing equipment to process agricultural raw material. Some 180 units of progressive manufacturing equipment have been handed over for food machine-building enterprises. Next year this figure will increase to 900 units.

M.S. Gorbachev: Apollon Sergeyevich, I have two questions in connection with this equipment—there is the question of quality and the question of prices.

A.S. Systsov: We are trying to ensure that the machinery's reliability ensures its steady operation. And we are studying price together with the plants in such a way that there are no unjustified increases. But equipment is now being created and planned to a new standard. It involves virtually no human intervention and uses electronics and computers and is more productive and considerably more reliable.

The rural schools play a special part in stabilizing the countryside and in its revival, G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, said. Unfortunately, the process of the reduction of rural schools has so far not been halted.

One-fifth of schools in the country are understaffed. Under these conditions the quality of education in the countryside will never rise to the level in a normal school. Active measures must be taken.

A teacher's salary in the countryside is the same as in the city, but if he teaches in four classes at the same time it is far harder for this teacher to work in the countryside. Of course his wages must be increased....

Much could be done through local efforts. Some school collectives earn well by renting land and obtaining good harvests. They use the money they have made to acquire equipment and construct schools.

The improvement of qualifications is an important question. It is in need of control. To ensure that the improvement of qualifications is carried out in essence and not just formally it is necessary to have a precise idea of what a person already knows and what he does not know. The improvement of qualifications at present is a kind of additional "vacation with a pseudo-commitment."

Our ministry has been entrusted with retooling the dairy industry, L.D. Ryabev, USSR minister of medium machine building, said. In the country at present there are about 4,200 milk processing enterprises. A further 250-260 enterprises will be constructed in the next 5-6 years.

The sector's specialists have taken on the entire cycle of planning these plants, providing them with equipment, and servicing them. Proper order will be introduced in the automation and standardization of production.

A plan for a miniplant for processing 5 tonnes of milk per shift is now being developed. As of 1989 the first few dozen complete kits for such a plant will be supplied to clients in modular form. Centers for the initial processing and storage of milk with a capacity of 10 tonnes per shift, and a plant for bottling milk and producing pot cheese, soured cream, and several other products are also being created.

Next in line among these plants is a city dairy plant made of lightweight structures with a capacity of 25 tonnes per shift. And, finally, a plant for 50 tonnes per shift is being planned.

Proposals have been submitted for the creation of small cheesemaking enterprises attached to stockraising units with a capacity of 50 and 230 kg of cheese per shift. The relevant proposals have already been passed on to the USSR Gosagroprom.

Measures are being taken to ensure that membrane technology [membrannaya tekhnologiya] is extensively introduced at processing enterprises, making it possible to organize waste-free production.

I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for machine building, stressed that the question of a package of means for mechanization in the agro-industrial complex is particularly acute today. In the machinery system now there are about 4,000

machines which should be developed and put into production. These problems cannot be resolved at once, the main thing must be selected.

The speaker drew attention to the use of cooperative associations in developing and producing new equipment. Equipment orders are a serious question—and so far we are failing to resolve it. The situation which has taken shape with regard to the demand for equipment is extraordinarily alarming. Orders are ebbing and are even being withdrawn now on a large scale.

The program which is being discussed today cannot be implemented without the chemical industry, A.N. Ustachkintsev, USSR first deputy minister of the chemical industry, said. This applies primarily to deliveries of material resources. For instance, the processing enterprises are demanding a large quantity of film and other packaging materials. The Gosagroprom's requirements for these materials are increasing sharply. The speaker dwelled on questions of expanding capacities for the production of polymers. But, he continued, it is not enough to produce polymers, we must also turn them into packaging materials.

In his speech S.V. Voenushkin, USSR minister of the construction materials industry, described the sector's problems and the steps which are being taken to increase deliveries of construction materials. Following an order from the USSR Gosagroprom, the production of glass packaging, particularly small-scale packaging, is being increased. A program has been developed for constructing enterprises for the production of linoleum and wall materials. The machine-building plants have been brought into the production of sanitary ware. And we believe that by 1990 the shortage of this ware will have been eliminated.

M.S. Gorbachev: Will you be able to supply all trade, so that each person can go and get whatever he needs?

S.F. Voenushkin: While 2 years ago we sold 150,000-180,000 baths, today we are selling 600,000 baths. Next year it will be 700,000 baths.

Summing up the results of the conference, M.S. Gorbachev said: I would sum up our meeting as follows. The most important result so far is that everyone understands the importance of the food question, understands that the problem can only be mastered by the entire country by enlisting the full power of our national economy complex.

I think that we will not resolve the food question without the psychological restructuring of our cadres which head the country's national economy complex. And we did not organize the talk at the Central Committee because the Council of Ministers is not performing this work. It is a matter of something else, comrades. I want, in the

Central Committee, to tell Communists and leaders of the central organs and all our departments once again that we need a breakthrough on the food front in the immediate future.

The decisions have been made, everyone has taken them on board and started to implement them. I can see that in Gosplan too major structural shifts have been effected in the direction of the agro-industrial complex. Matters must be conducted in such a way that all the decisions are implemented without fail. Following the present discussion as much catching up as possible must be done this year. Every ministry must enter into the work rhythm laid down by the resolutions.

There is another thing I have thought of. The volume of work is immense, but this priority task also has its own priorities. For most areas of the country the chief question is one of restructuring economic relations. Yes, we are unhappy with the material and technical base of the countryside and agro-industrial complex. It has not yet become comprehensive. All this is true. But even in the existing conditions, people operating within the framework of the new production relations, where they themselves are beginning to manage and are themselves planning end results and fighting for them and know that their status depends on them, are moving things along well. Therefore, our first discussion at the Central Committee was devoted to this topic, and we postponed all the questions and said: The main thing today is lease relations, it is the restructuring of production relations in the countryside. The USSR Gosagroprom and local agro-industrial bodies must use the winter period to study these questions.

We will soon be discussing this again with first secretaries, so that they can put the might of the party behind this movement. At the moment it is necessary to work with the people. Not to drive them into lease contracts. At the same time, we do not want things to slide. Things should be constructed on the basis of in-depth work with people and, most importantly, on a demonstration of the advantages of this undertaking. And there are already things to show in all regions and for all crops. This has already been established. Major work must be done to reinforce even more the trend of developing lease relations and thorough in-depth economic accountability in the countryside.

Frankly, a great deal depends now and in the future on the comrades present in this hall. Above all it is necessary to provide kolkhozes and sovkhoses with the machinery systems, fertilizers, and plant protection agents for the new techniques and to solve processing questions. These are the main priorities in the entire priority agrarian complex. They must be highlighted and dealt with and not overlooked. Everything must be done in this area. The principle is that at the moment there are two main questions for the entire economy—restructuring of economic relations and scientific-technical progress. All the other, long-term matters must not be

overlooked either, they must be recognized today, and the main problems should become part of the 13th 5-Year Plan. In this case the Gosplan must study everything particularly well, paying primary attention to what we have been talking about, to technology and processing. The 13th 5-Year Plan must be organized in such a way as to complete comprehensive mechanization in the agrarian-industrial complex. According to our calculations, we have a real chance to achieve this.

Of course, comrades, alongside these questions, today and tomorrow, there will remain the social reorganization of the countryside. People have sensed that the state is addressing the countryside and they have immediately responded to this attention. Here is an example: KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA urged young men and women to go to the Non-Chernozem Zone. The newspaper received 120,000 letters. Some 20,000 people have either already gone or have received invitations.

People have faith in and appreciate our plans and are going to new places. This will have massive significance, comrades. After all, it is a guaranteed agricultural production zone. The moisture is there, there is a high standard of crop farming, and there is specialization, primarily livestock raising. You can produce large volumes of meat and milk there. The Russian Non-Chernozem Zone already produces a large proportion of these products, but it falls well short of its potential. Everything could be developed much more widely. Big cities and vast requirements everywhere. The people will come here if the plans for the social development of the Non-Chernozem Zone are implemented.

The theme of social reorganization must also be constantly addressed. Without going into more detail, I appeal to you again and ask you to act on this basis. There is simply no other way for us. All the remaining work will be done in the agro-industrial complex and in the Gosplan and government. But all the sectors must actively participate on the basis of this common approach, so that we do not get a situation where there is a policy and a line has been elaborated, but there are still people wondering how, perhaps, to postpone things for the moment, to wait a while. No, comrades, none of the things we are talking about can be postponed. Things have been postponed, if that is the word, for 50 years. First it was necessary to carry out industrialization, but they postponed it; then it was necessary to resurrect what had been destroyed and ravaged by war, but again it was postponed. Everything was postponed in the same way. This went on to the point where many people simply quit the countryside; but now we are thinking of ways of reviving it.

At the plenum we will analyze ways of working with the peasantry. What was Lenin's way of working? When the civil war was being waged and the whole country was caught up in the situation, he did not forget the peasant problems and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the problem of city and countryside. In

fact, they were fundamental aspects of his policy after the Bolsheviks seized power. Everything must be revived; Leninist approaches are needed, taking into account, though, what we have at the moment.

I can see that construction will be a major factor here. Whatever question you address, it involves new construction. You have reconstruction, you have social, cultural, and consumer facilities and all the rest. So what is being done at the moment in the way of creating a base for the reorganization of the countryside is good. But one must ensure that the discrepancies in the agrarian component are eliminated, that tasks are solved through reconstruction and in some places through the construction of new enterprises. This must also be borne in mind. Because if one component fails, all the others are useless. In the agro-industrial complex, as in any other matter: A particular kind of steel cannot be obtained if one prescribed ingredient is missing. You would have the wrong type of steel or no steel at all. Why, then, do we approach the countryside in a different way? Why have we become accustomed to exploiting this wretched land, so that it is as if it has to provide a harvest without compensation? There is a limit in all cases. Therefore, what we have elaborated as a result of the comprehensive approach to the agro-industrial complex must be in the plans and in practical work.

I would also ask the comrades in charge of the relevant national economic complexes in the Council of Ministers to keep an eye on these matters and do some real work. We will be discussing this at regional level when we meet with the first secretaries of obkoms, kraykoms, and union republics' Central Committees, and we will raise all these questions so that we get support and concrete work from them, so that we get a clenched fist, so to speak, not outstretched fingers, pointing in all directions.

The conference was attended by Comrades V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, and O.D. Baklanov; Yu.P. Batalin, I.S. Belousov, L.A. Voronin, V.K. Gusev, V.M. Kamentsev, and B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUUCTU; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of the mass media.

Scientific

'Nothing Serious' in Shuttle Space Shot Delay
PM0411152188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Colonel General A. Maksimov, "USSR Ministry of Defense chief specialist on reusable space transport systems," by Colonel M. Rebrov "Energiya"-
"Buran": What Is Happening in Baykonur"—date, place of interview not given, first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] In their letters to the editorial office KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers are asking for more detailed information about the reasons for the delayed launch of the

"Energiya" carrier rocket and the "Buran" orbital craft and about what is happening at Baykonur at the moment. Our correspondent met with Colonel General A. Maksimov, USSR Ministry of Defense chief specialist on reusable space transport systems and their development prospects, and asked him to answer a number of the newspaper readers' questions.

[Rebrov] First of all, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, could you say a few words about the "Energiya"- "Buran" system itself: How do you rate it?

[Maksimov] It is a most complex system. Although it is difficult at the end of the 20th century to be amazed at technical achievements—as a result of the scientific and technical revolution we have become used to the fact that man has learned to build highly intricate and extremely powerful complexes—the universal rocket space transport system which is undergoing flight tests exceeds anything that we have known and has no parallel in the world.

The future potential of this system is hard to overestimate. During his visit to Baykonur M.S. Gorbachev noted that "Energiya" is a case where quantity passes into quality. When the powerful carrier rocket enters its operational mode a new era of space exploration will have opened.

[Rebrov] Could you tell us in some detail, please, what happened at Baykonur 29 October at 0622 plus a few seconds?

[Maksimov] Let me say first that we are conducting a new and extremely complex experiment. On this occasion the "Energiya" carries not a conventional payload but a unique orbital spacecraft. Its fully automated landing is an ultracomplex matter. No one in the world has as yet accomplished tasks of this kind. Suffice it to mention that software and computer saturation [nasyshchennost' EVM] is 4-5 times higher than what we had before. The launch itself is taking place for the first time from a new launch pad. The aerodynamic loads, deformations, distribution of forces, and acoustics are different from the conditions in May of last year.

On the day, everything went strictly according to schedule, or cyclogram, as we call it. All prestart operations were carried out strictly in sequence, with precision down to a second. The "launch" command was issued. From then on all subsequent commands are carried out in automatic mode. In accordance with a preset program, computers carry out verification checks [opros-kontrol'] on all the systems of the "Energiya" carrier rocket, the "Buran" orbital craft, and the launch complex. High-speed computers not only monitor the progress of the prestart checks and acknowledge the commands as they go out, they also analyze the execution of operations.

Virtually to the very last moment the carrier rocket and the ground complex are connected by a series of communication lines. In the course of the countdown these lines are disconnected and the rocket space transport system switches to autonomous control. If during these verification checks any sort of malfunction occurs, for instance, a command does not go through, or there is no confirmation of its execution, the computer complex automatically discontinues launch preparations and puts the program and all the systems and units back to "initial position."

On the morning of 29 October everything went without a hitch, the cyclogram was implemented precisely until 51 seconds from liftoff. That was the number of brief moments that remained before the time set for the launch. Suddenly the computer equipment sounded "retreat."

[Rebrov] What were your feelings as a member of the State Commission?...

[Maksimov] There was no doubting the fact that the computer had come up against something and acted swiftly to play safe. The machine is sufficiently clever and reliable. But as to the cause, it had to be investigated.

I must also say that the "abort program" [sbro's skhemy] was received by the State Commission without enthusiasm but with composure.

[Rebrov] What are the possible options in such a case? Is it necessary to postpone the launch to another day, or can one take a chance?

[Maksimov] There is always an element of chance present in experimental work.... But it is only posed by the limits of our understanding. By what we do not know yet.

When working with such complex systems as the "Energiya" and the "Buran," the human brain cannot within a short spell of time take in all the processes and operations which take place in thousands upon thousands of units and devices. This is the job of the computers. The launch control system allows for more than 140 possible irregular situations. We came up against one such situation.

As to the available courses of action, it would be possible to postpone the launch for 1 and 1/2 or 4 hours, for instance, to establish the reasons for what happened. It all depends on how long it takes to find out what went wrong and where and to eliminate the malfunction.

Incidentally, we found the answer to "where?" and "what?" happened as soon as we looked at the video recording and the computer printout. One of the service gantries has a special platform on which a system for adjusting the "Energiya" onboard gyroscopes is

mounted. It is a guidance system. The rocket is not simply launched straight upward. It has to enter space in accordance with a preset flight path.

What happened was that the platform moved away, but not entirely as prescribed in the program.

[Rebrov] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, what if the computer's opinion had been ignored and the launch not postponed? What could have happened in that case?

[Maksimov] In order to disregard the computer's judgment we would have to switch it off, otherwise no commands would go through. The launch would have to be carried out "manually." But if the platform was not removed the spacecraft might be damaged. The equipment mounted on the platform which I mentioned is quite bulky, about the size of a "Zhiguli." [car]

[Rebrov] Therefore the State Commission....

[Maksimov] Made the decision not to interfere in the computer program and to reschedule the launch. On the same day the liquid hydrogen, oxygen, and kerosene were drained from the rocket tanks and then all systems were blown through with nitrogen and air and the rocket was made safe.

[Rebrov] When will the next attempt take place?

[Maksimov] It is difficult for me to give you an exact date and time, although, I repeat, nothing serious has happened. However, looking back on the prelaunch period, I must admit that it was difficult. And a breathing space is not only deserved, it is necessary. We have halted so that our next step is well thought out and confident.

However, work on the Soviet reusable orbital craft program is continuing, a commission has been set up to investigate what happened, and measures of a technical nature are being taken in order to rule out anything similar happening in the future. As for the continuation of the tests, the break will not be that long.

Eight More Experiments Conducted Aboard "Mir"
*LD0411130288 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT
4 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been staying in the near-earth orbit for the 320th day, while Valeriy Polyakov—for the 68th day.

The cosmonauts completed a series of eight experiments on the technological unit "poin" with the use of a mirror-beam furnace, in accordance with the programme of the space science of materials. Monocrystals of zinc and alloys of aluminium and copper were chosen as specimens to be studied.

The crew of the scientific-research complex "Mir" will carry out astrophysical and technical experiments, dismantle the technological unit, carry out prophylactic work with the equipment and apparatuses of the basic block today.

With the help of the magnetic spectrometer "Maria" the cosmonauts are planning to carry out a regular cycle of exploration of high-energy positron and electron flow and their propagation in the near-earth space. In the course of the day the cosmonauts will carry out an experiment to assess the state of the external surface of the viewports who have been under the impact of open space factors for a long time.

According to reports of the crew, the flight is going on according to the planned schedule. The cosmonauts feel well.

Military

Great October Socialist Revolution Celebrations

Military Parade in Moscow
*LD0711085788 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT
7 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalaev report:

The last tenth stroke of the chime on the Spasskiy tower over the festively decorated Red Square announced the beginning of a military parade on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution observed today.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as other leaders of the party and the government are on the rostrum of the Lenin Mausoleum.

Troops of the Moscow garrison, students of military academies and schools, as well as a military band are lined up in the Red Square.

General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and defense minister of the USSR, receives a report of General of the Army Konstantin Kochetov, commander of the parade. They review the troops, moving about the square in open limousines, and congratulate participants in the parade on the occasion of the anniversary.

Then the USSR defense minister goes up to the rostrum of the mausoleum and makes a speech. A powerful "hurray" is heard over the Red Square. The national anthem of the Soviet Union is performed, which is followed by an artillery salute.

By the traditions of long standing, students of the military music school start the parade. They are followed by students of military academies and schools.

The rumble of motors drowns the music of the military band. Military vehicles of the Taman Guard Motorized Rifle Division enter the square by the two streets on both sides of the historic museum building.

They are followed by military vehicles of an airborne regiment, the Kantemir Guard Tank Division, self-propelled guns, rocket artillery vehicles whose origin is traced to the famous "Katyushas," anti-aircraft missile complexes and missile systems of the land forces.

The USSR hopes that there will be no need for building up those and other types of weapons. Warsaw Treaty member countries came up with a concept of the reduction of conventional armaments and the armed forces in Europe. It serves as a good foundation for working out mutually acceptable agreements in this sphere. At present representatives of 23 countries affiliated in the Warsaw Treaty organization and NATO are concluding in Vienna the working out of a mandate of the talks on armed forces and conventional armaments. There is hope that they will start before the end of the current year.

Not so long ago the public waited with special interest for the new types of military hardware, primarily nuclear weapons, to take part in the parade. However, this time vehicles carrying strategic missiles do not appear in the Red Square, and it will hardly be a disappointment to anyone. The time has come for new political thinking. It resulted in the signing of the historic Soviet-American INF Treaty which set the beginning of an epoch of real disarmament. Explosions at Soviet test sites in Saryozek, Kazakhstan, and Kapustin Yar, the Volgograd region, where medium- and shorter-range missiles are being destroyed in accordance with the treaty sound like a salute in honor of the victory of reason. They are the manifestation of progress on the way to a nuclear-weapon-free world.

A whole class of nuclear missiles is being removed from arsenals. Fragments of a RSD-10 missile known in the West as SS-20 are put on display at the Central Museum of the USSR Armed Forces. There will be more such exhibits at the military museums throughout the world if other agreements of this kind are signed in the process of disarmament. There is hope for that. Participants in the East-West dialogue have come right to the solution of such key problems as the reduction by half of strategic offensive weapons by the USSR and the U.S. in conditions of the observance of the ABM Treaty, the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, the limitation and eventually the termination of nuclear tests.

The parade ended with the marching of the military band before the mausoleum.

People's Parade Follows

LD0711085988 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT
7 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—Following military vehicles and a band whose march ended a military parade on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, 1,800 standard-bearer carrying red flags entered the Red Square. They started a demonstration of representatives of Moscow industrial enterprises, organizations, higher educational establishments and other institutions. A tradition of holding popular marches emerged 70 years ago right here, in the Red Square, where the young Soviet republic observed its first anniversary in 1918.

Under the sounds of solemn marches Muscovites enter the Red Square in eight columns. This year the columns are decorated in a more restrained and modest manner. This is a manifestation of the revival of revolutionary traditions, of the spirit of perestroika which swept all the spheres of social and economic life in this country. Muscovites demonstrate today their loyalty to the ideals of socialism which can be proved only by deeds. This is why there are no general appeals on the streamers carried by demonstrators. They were replaced by specific information about the results achieved in the process of perestroika.

Yazov Delivers Address

LD0711084088 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0710 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Speech by Army General Dmitriy Yazov at Moscow Red Square festivities marking the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—live]

[Text] Comrade servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces! Working people of the Soviet Union! Esteemed foreign guests! On behalf of and on the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government I greet you and congratulate you on the holiday of all people, the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

The greatness of those historic days when the working class and the working people of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, took power into their own hands and began the building of socialism, is being revealed ever more fully in our day. What has been done by many generations of Soviet people following the victory of the Great October Revolution comprises the foundation for the successful implementation of the restructuring of socialist society.

The course mapped out by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference is being implemented consistently. The Soviet Union today is at a crucial stage in its socioeconomic development, one that is of enormous importance for the country's destiny. The moral and political climate in society is changing. The

process of making the economy more healthy and turning it toward improving by every means the working people's living conditions has begun. Restructuring has become the practical cause of millions of Soviet people.

The new political thinking, which stems from the priority of interests common to all mankind, the efforts of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries aimed at preventing war, both nuclear and conventional, and the reduction of military potentials to the limits of reasonable sufficiency, is finding increasing understanding and support among the world public and the leaders of many states.

The stereotypes of anti-Sovietism and groundless conjecturing as to a Soviet military threat are being gradually destroyed. A start has been made on real nuclear disarmament and the settlement in practice of regional conflicts. At the same time progressive tendencies in worldwide development and the process of reducing tension and of disarmament have not yet become irreversible. The destruction of medium- and shorter-range missiles has only been begun as yet, and already there are calls going out, and of various types, for the compensation, modernization and building up conventional arms, and speeding up the Star Wars program. All of this is being assessed and taken into account in due fashion by the Communist Party and Soviet Government when working out policy in the sphere of defense and the country's security.

The efficiency of Soviet defense construction is predominantly guaranteed by parameters of quality. It is conducted in strict accordance with our defense doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency. Within the Soviet Army and Navy, as throughout the entire country, the restructuring process is becoming more profound. Combat readiness is being raised, the skill of the personnel improved, discipline and order strengthened. We have all the essentials for the defense of the homeland: first-class equipment and armaments, rich combat experience, splendid people. Soviet servicemen are fulfilling their patriotic and internationalist duty in united rank with the servicemen of the fraternal armies of the countries of the Warsaw Pact. True to the ideas of October, the cause of the great Lenin, and the new course of the CPSU, the Soviet Armed Forces are maintaining a reliable watch over the peaceful labor and the socialist gains of the Soviet people. Hurrah! [troops respond with "hurrah"]

Defense Leaders Attend Ceremony

PM0411191388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was held at the Central Academy Theater of the Soviet Army.

It was attended by generals, admirals, and officers of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, the Main Inspectorate, the Main Cadre Directorate, and other USSR Defense Ministry main and central directorates.

The meeting was opened by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Army General M. Sorokin, USSR deputy defense minister and USSR Defense Ministry chief inspector, delivered the report.

The meeting was attended by Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; Army General P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; and Admiral of the Fleet A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

A gala concert of masters of the arts took place after the meeting.

'Festive' Kremlin Meeting

PM0411154188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 2 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Own correspondent's report: "Festive Meeting"]

[Text] In the Kremlin Palace of Congresses a festive meeting took place 1 November of participants in the parade by troops from the Moscow garrison in Red Square to mark the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In the hall there were soldiers, sailors, NCO's and petty officers, officers, generals and admirals, and those who have been granted the honor to represent all types and categories of the Soviet Armed Forces in the country's main square.

Lieutenant General A. Makunin, chief of the Moscow Military District Political Directorate, opened the meeting.

The district colors and the colors of formations, units and combat training establishments participating in the parade were brought into the hall.

Army General K. Kochetov, parade commander and commander of Moscow Military District, gave the report.

A. Zogal, fitter at the Moscow automobile factory named for I.A. Likhachev, and E. Lezhdey, RSFSR honored artiste, and S. Loktionov, secretary of the Perovskiy Komsomol Raykom in Moscow, welcomed the participants in the upcoming military parade.

The following took part in the meeting: Army General P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Admiral of the Fleet A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army General V. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister; Colonel General Yu. Yashin, first deputy commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces; Colonel General A. Betekhtin, first deputy commander in chief of the Ground Forces, Colonel General M. Popkov, member of the military council and chief of the Ground Forces Political Directorate; Colonel General of Aviation L. Batekhin, member of the military council and chief of the Air Force Political Directorate; and Vice Admiral V. Panin, member of the military council and chief of the Navy Political Directorate; Colonel General of Aviation V. Tsarkov, commander of the Moscow Air Defense District; Colonel General N. Kotlovtssev, chairman of the USSR DOSAAF Central Committee; I. Larin, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; S. Epifantsev, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; and representatives of party, soviet, and Komsomol organs.

Supreme Soviet Decrees Military Promotions
LD0411195788 *Moscow Television Service in Russian*
1800 GMT 4 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed the following military promotions: Army General Anatoliy Vladimirovich Betekhtin, to Colonel General; Admiral Ivan Matveyevich Kapitanets, to Admiral of the Fleet. [video shows still pictures of the two officers]

Bulgarian Army Daily Interviews Admiral Yegorov
AU0111145588 *Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA*
in *Bulgarian* 28 Oct 88 p 4

["Interview With Rear Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, Commander of the USSR Mediterranean Squadron": "Under Soviet Flag"—no name of interviewer, place, or date given]

[Text] [Question] The Mediterranean is one of the world's regions in which there is a very high concentration of naval forces. What is characteristic of the present situation in the Mediterranean? What is the role of the United States and other countries?

[Yegorov] First of all it must be stressed that the lines of communication of the oil-producing countries from the Persian Gulf and other regions rich with natural resources cross the Mediterranean, which also is close to the USSR's southern border. The only maritime route

which connects the USSR Black Sea ports and the world ocean also crosses the Mediterranean. Naturally, the USSR is interested in using the lines of communication for peaceful rather than military purposes. However, we often saw how a threat to the safety of the maritime routes emerged. The present situation also remains tense, which is the result of several factors.

The sword of Damocles of the Middle East regional conflicts hangs over the Mediterranean. The system of NATO's southern wing military bases is another factor which increases military tension. Only the United States has 11 air force and naval bases in this region, as well as 3 major intelligence centers and 4 missile bases, including "Komiso." The U.S. Sixth Fleet is permanently deployed in the Mediterranean. The military maneuvers conducted in the region by the United States and its allies also increase tension.

[Question] Would you describe the tasks and role of the USSR military vessels in the Mediterranean in light of the statements by official Pentagon spokesmen, who claim that the Sixth Fleet ostensibly blocks the USSR military presence in the Mediterranean?

[Yegorov] It is well known that the USSR has repeatedly declared that in principle it does not deem it necessary to constantly keep its military vessels in the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean squadron is here in order to guarantee the security of the USSR and the friendly states on the basis of the bilateral treaties which have been concluded. The squadron, as well as the entire USSR Navy, has never had any aggressive goals.

The squadron mainly consists of antisubmarine and patrol vessels, capable of efficiently combating submarines and implementing reliable antiaircraft defense of the surface vessels.

The USSR presence in the Mediterranean is a responsive measure. What is characteristic of this presence is that our squadron "balances" something here which is three times larger, namely, the U.S. Sixth Fleet, whose vessels also are carrying nuclear weapons.

Strenuous combat training—this is the everyday activity of the squadron. Improving the vessels' ability to maneuver, the antiaircraft and artillery fire training, and training in cooperation—this is a very incomplete list of the tasks faced by the squadron.

Army Paper Decries Other Paper's Distortions
PM0311155188 *Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA*
in *Russian* 1 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed article: "Why Brandish Another Person's Mauser? Or How Facts Are Distorted With the Tacit Approval of the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Editorial Board"]

[Text] The newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA for 29 October 1988 published the following view of Muscovite Candidate of Mathematical and Physical Sciences M. Rudenko on the essay "Soldier of the Revolution" carried in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 October:

"At a time when the entire Soviet people have become absolutely convinced of Stalin's personal responsibility for the repressions of the thirties and subsequent years, the following pearl of scientific infallibility has dropped from the lips of Major M. Zhokhov, retired, member of the Military Scientific Society at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army, in an article with the tacit approval of the editorial board: '...He (that is, M.V. Frunze—note by M.R.) was one of the first to realize that Stalin was Lenin's sole successor to the leadership of the party and the country.'

"I believe that, if M.V. Frunze were alive and were to read such a thing, he would automatically go for his Mauser."

Quite a short comment, but how many vigorous words it contains—from "pearl" to "Mauser." Only it is strange that the purveyor of public opinion and then the esteemed newspaper's editorial board did not notice that the words which aroused such stormy indignation from the candidate of sciences certainly did not fall from the

lips of Maj M. Zhokhov, retired (that issue of the newspaper, incidentally, did not contain a single word penned by him). They were written by Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin. For on 9 October KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reproduced verbatim, without cuts, and, of course, without posthumous editing a long and, so it seems to us, very interesting essay on M. Frunze by N. Bukharin, first published in IZVESTIYA on 30 October 1935. This essay, like all the other works of N.I. Bukharin, who fell victim to Stalin's repressions, is unknown to millions of Soviet people. The essay was prefaced with the article "N.I. Bukharin: Features of His Portrait" by Doctor of Historical Sciences I. Gorelov, which outlined the main landmarks in the life and activity of N.I. Bukharin, as well as mentioning "certain aspects of the essay which grate upon our ears today" and their origins.

So is it worth threatening someone with M.V. Frunze's Mauser without having given the article even a cursory reading? We hope that SOVETSKAYA KULTURA will answer this question in its pages.